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The Moulding of the Scottish Nation¹

AT the death of Alexander III. in 1286 Scotland made territorially one country; the first of Scottish kings, Alexander ruled in fact, as well as in name, from the Pentland Firth to the Solway. His own special achievement had been not only to rule the mainland with a firm hand, but to add the Hebrides and even the Isle of Man to the territory he had inherited. It had taken well-nigh eight centuries to complete the work of consolidation to which Alexander put the finishing touch—a work that had its origin about the beginning of the sixth century, when in the modern Argyleshire a band of Celts from Ireland founded the Dalriadic Kingdom. Some two centuries and a half elapse, and one kingdom is formed to the north of the Forth by the union of the Picts and Scots under Kenneth Macalpine; and within two centuries more one king nominally ruled over the whole mainland of Scotland. It was in 1018 that this end was achieved; and the whole intervening period between that date and the accession of Alexander III. had been needed to make Scotland a territorial unit. It was a great work that had been accomplished, and, with the exception of England, no other country in Europe had attained a similar degree of territorial cohesion.

But though Scotland was territorially one, it would be an abuse of words to speak of it as a nation. The bond of common memories, common hopes and aspirations, which is requisite to the evolution of a national consciousness, did not and could not yet exist. The heterogeneous elements that composed its population had only the tradition of mutual estrangement or hereditary

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S.H.R. VOL. I.

Q

246 The Moulding of the Scottish Nation

hostility. Located in different regions and speaking different tongues, what common interests could exist between the Briton of Strathclyde, the Gael of the Highlands, and the Saxon of Lothian? Of all the countries in Western Europe, indeed, there were none where greater obstacles existed to prevent the formation of a united people than in Scotland. Diverse races, diverse tongues, a land by its distribution of mountain, river, and sea almost destined by nature to permanent regional division—such were some of the impediments to be overcome before a nation in any real sense of the term could take shape and consistency within its boundaries. The process, it is evident, must needs be a protracted one, and, as in all human evolution, what we call accident must play a large part in it. However inherent and powerful the tendency towards unity, events over which the incipient nation had no control might intervene and dash the fair prospect of national growth. The object of the present lecture is to trace the growth of a national consciousness in the Scottish people, and to note the main causes that forwarded or impeded it.

In the development of nations there is of necessity much that is common to all of them. The same common instincts of human nature must everywhere be at work, and in the case of a society like that of Western Christendom similar agencies must have gone to the common result. Under the régime of feudalism and the medieval church, the different countries possessed common institutions, were informed by common ideals, and by community of interests were borne unconsciously onward to the same goal. Though in the evolution of national consciousness, however, there was thus a general uniformity, there were peculiarities in the process which constitute the essential difference between the national history of one country and another, and like other countries Scotland had a development specifically its own. It must be our object in the present discussion, therefore, to note at once what was common to Scotland with other countries in their respective national developments, and what was peculiar to herself in her national growth.

Amid the disasters that fell so thick on the country after the death of Alexander III., the most far-sighted contemporary could only have predicted the undoing of the work that had been accomplished by that king and the long line of his predecessors. As the history of the previous century had shown, it was only under such strong and sagacious rulers as David I.

The Moulding of the Scottish Nation 247

and the last two Alexanders that the heterogeneous elements of the kingdom could be held together. On the death of Alexander III. there followed the extinction of a dynasty, a disputed succession in the most aggravated form, and a war for bare existence against a foreign invader. In all human probability the result must be either the absorption of the kingdom by its hereditary enemy and rival, or its relapse into the original elements that composed it. From both of these dangers it had in reality the narrowest escape. Alexander had hardly been dead before civil war broke out. Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale, who claimed the Crown on the ground of nomination and descent, sought to make good his claim by the sword, but it is impossible to imagine that in the existing circumstances he could ever have established himself as the acknowledged King of Scots. The intervention of Edward I. had at least this immediate result—it arrested civil war and for the time prevented national disintegration. The grandson of the Lord of Annandale, the hero-king Robert I., succeeded in making himself sole ruler of the kingdom, but it was only his own remarkable career and the new experience the country had undergone that had made this consummation possible. In the war of deliverance which he carried to so glorious a conclusion, the various sections of the Scottish people were drawn together by common interests, which in large degree modified hereditary antagonisms, and disposed them to find a common head. The greatness of Bruce's achievement placed him in a position which left no opening for a successful rival, and through constraint or self-interest or affection the majority of the people recognised in him the only safeguard against internecine war and a foreign enemy.

But if there had been the narrowest risk of dismemberment, there had been an equally narrow risk of absorption by England. Had Edward II. been cast in the mould of his father, and had Edward III. not been diverted by other schemes of conquest, Scotland must either have bled to death or reluctantly surrendered her independence.

As it was, she emerged from the long struggle an independent and a united kingdom. Her material loss had been great. For a full century and a half after the War of Independence the Scottish people cast regretful eyes backward to the golden age of Alexander III. But if the material sacrifice had been disastrous, the spiritual gain was an adequate compensation. 'A people without an epopee,' says Goethe, 'can never become

248 The Moulding of the Scottish Nation

much worth,' and Scotland now possessed the materials of an epopee which in due time was to become a national possession. First the deeds of Bruce were commemorated in the soberly-imaginative poem of Barbour, and at a later date Wallace was transfigured by Blind Harry with the lineaments and proportions requisite to make a historic personage pass into the popular imagination. Wallace, says Wordsworth, left his name

'Like a wild flower
All over his dear country,'

and his deeds, he goes on to say, created

'A local soul
Of independence and stern liberty.'

Such was the impression Wordsworth gained from his tour in Scotland in 1814, and his words fitly describe the moral and spiritual gain of the War of Independence. In a degree far beyond what she had been in the prosperous days of Alexander III., Scotland had now become a united people, with the common traditions and aspirations which go to form a national consciousness.

Even yet, however, Scotland could hardly be described as a nation in the sense in which we now understand the term. In the conditions of society, as they then existed in every country of Christendom, there were inherent forces at work which inevitably tended to hold apart the constituent elements of any people and to prevent their fusion into a uniform whole. Of these separative forces the chief were the conditions imposed by the feudal system and by the economic conditions of trade and commerce. Within his own domain each feudal lord was a petty king, who for the most part regarded his neighbours as his natural rivals or enemies. As were his own feelings, so were those of all dependent on him. They virtually composed a self-subsistent society with little concern in the greater world around them. 'Such law and justice as were to be had were mainly administered by their feudal superior; and the necessities of life were found in the cultivation of his domains. So long, therefore, as a country was subdivided among such isolated societies, the close national union that can only come of interdependence was practically unattainable.

If the dwellers in the country districts were thus held apart by the conditions of feudal tenure, the towns were equally

The Moulding of the Scottish Nation 249

isolated by the conditions of trade and commerce. A conclusive proof of this fact is that every town of any consequence was surrounded by a line of defence, which it was one of the chief duties of the citizens to maintain in an effective state of repair. These lines of defence, it is to be noted, served a double purpose. They provided security against actual violence—violence from rival towns, from neighbouring feudal potentates, from foreign invaders. In the present connection, however, it is more important to note the second object which they served. By the conditions under which the mediaeval towns had grown up, each to a large degree was an independent centre, living its own life, and disposed to regard every similar community as a rival or rather as an enemy. The reason for this attitude is simple. At one time or other the town had received certain trading privileges from its superior—king, ecclesiastic, or feudal lord—and on the conservation of these privileges its existence and prosperity depended. It would be irrelevant to discuss the nature and origin of these privileges, and it is sufficient to note for our present purpose that the lines of defence that surrounded the towns were indispensable for their preservation. At the different gates in the wall or dyke every stranger could be questioned as to the motives that brought him there. If he was suspected of any intention of infringing the town privileges, he was either refused admittance or placed under proper surveillance. Only on one occasion did the townsmen freely open their arms to all and sundry. At the annual fair all barriers were thrown down, and absolute freedom of trade prevailed so long as it lasted. Among the forces that made for national as opposed to municipal ends, therefore, these fairs must be assigned their due place. In Scotland, as in other countries, every town of any consequence had the right of holding its fair either by royal grant or immemorial prescription. As on the occasion of its celebration merchants and traders flocked to the town from every part of the kingdom, it was then borne in upon its citizens that they formed part of a larger whole in which all had a common interest. Still the normal attitude of every citizen was that his own community was an isolated society surrounded by dangerous rivals against whose encroachment he must ever be on his guard. Such being the relations of every town in the kingdom to each other, it is evident that the growth of a national consciousness in the most enterprising portion of the inhabitants of every country must of necessity

250 The Moulding of the Scottish Nation

be a slow and gradual process. Till new economic conditions arose, in fact, collective endeavour was impossible, and a fully-developed nation could not in the nature of things be formed. In due time, as we shall see, these new conditions did arise, and Scotland, like its neighbours, did not fail to profit by them.

These obstacles to the growth of national feeling—the isolating tendencies of feudalism and of trade—were common to Scotland and all other countries. But there were other impeding forces which in her case were of special significance. From the nature of her climate and surface intercommunication was attended with peculiar difficulties. The construction and maintenance of roads implied an amount of labour and expense far beyond what was necessary in such countries as England and France. In no country in the Middle Ages were the roads such as to render communication an easy matter, but in Scotland, with its obstructing mountains, rivers, and bogs, they were practically impassable during a great portion of the year. But without rapid and frequent intercommunication, the intercourse necessary to weld a people into a united whole was impossible, and not till past the middle of the eighteenth century can this obstacle be said to have been tolerably overcome.

But besides these physical impediments there were other hindrances to national fusion which formed a special difficulty in the case of Scotland. Though acknowledging a common head, the various portions of which the kingdom was composed continued to be inhabited by distinct peoples speaking different tongues.

Between the natives of the wide district of Galloway, the Gael of the Highlands, and the Teuton of Lothian and the Eastern coast, there could be little community of feeling, few palpable common interests, and except on rare occasions of general peril but little united action towards a common end. In the case of Galloway, the wild nature of the country and the fighting instincts of its people, perpetuated by the rivalries of the clans who divided its territory among them, long availed to hold it apart from the main stream of national development. Even into the fifteenth century Galloway was governed by laws of its own, and till the beginning of the eighteenth it clung to the Celtic language, which it had inherited from before the days of St. Columba. Still more estranging were the conditions of the Highland section of the kingdom. Of wider extent and

The Moulding of the Scottish Nation 251

still more inaccessible from its natural features, the region of the Highlands seemed destined by nature to independence. In greater degree than Galloway, its inhabitants had a tradition of hostility toward the Lowlands which only the slow growth of time and the pervasive influences of modern civilisation have been able to overcome. Till the opening of the fifteenth century the Lords of the Isles regarded themselves as independent sovereigns, and made common cause with England against their nominal head the King of Scots.

Such were some of the forces that made against the development of a united Scottish people. Yet, as the issue was to prove, the centripetal tendencies must have been more powerful than those that made for decentralisation. First we have to note that in all the countries that made up Christendom there had from the beginning been a tendency towards the formation of distinct kingdoms, ruled by one head, and inhabited by peoples bound by ever-strengthening ties of common interest. For special reasons, which need not now be considered, Italy and Germany were exceptions to the general rule, but by the close of the fifteenth century three great kingdoms, France, Spain, and England, had been formed on the same general lines of development. As an integral part of Christendom, Scotland had been subjected to the same influences as these other countries. Consciously and unconsciously, therefore, she was pushing for the same goal. From the War of Independence onwards she had been more or less in the current of European politics, and this was in itself a powerful stimulus towards the national unity which alone could give her a voice in the general affairs of Europe.

Among the unifying influences that went to create distinct nations, that exercised by the Church can hardly be exaggerated. In the case of Scotland the teaching of the Church was almost the sole common influence to which its people were subjected. Trade and commerce, in the Middle Ages, as we have seen, were separative as well as unifying agencies; but such powers as the Church exerted were wholly in the direction of cohesion. From the teaching of its religion, by the ministry of its officials, the Gael was taught that he was of the same flesh as the Saxon, that he was placed in the world for the same purpose, and that the same final destiny was the lot of both. By the organisation of the Church, which bound in a common whole the length and breadth of the kingdom, the idea of unity was brought

252 The Moulding of the Scottish Nation

home to every subject with a force and persuasiveness which no other agency could exert to the same degree. The parish church, with its ministrants, was at once the symbol of unity, and the most effective factor in enforcing it.

In England national unity had been greatly furthered by the development of its representative assembly; to the Parliament of Scotland, on the other hand, a similar degree of influence cannot be attributed. At no time were the Scottish people greatly exercised regarding the privileges of their representative assembly; and it was only on occasions when their own interests were specially involved that the sovereign and nobles manifested any lively desire to improve its constitution. During the fifteenth century, when its constituent parts were fully developed, the Scottish Parliament had but little prestige and little real importance; and for two excellent reasons. Through the weakness of the Crown it became the mere tool of successive factions; and through the weakness of the executive its laws were made only to be set at nought. To the Scottish Parliament, therefore, we can assign but a subsidiary part in the moulding of the Scottish nation.

After the Church as a power tending to unity is probably to be reckoned the administration of law and justice. When it was brought home to the Highlander that he must seek justice from the Sheriffs' Courts at Dingwall and Tarbert, and to the Lowlander that he must seek it in Edinburgh, Perth, and Aberdeen, he realised that he was part of a great mechanism, with the working of which he must find himself in harmony. It was the misfortune of Scotland, however, that the royal judicatories were permanently enfeebled by a weak executive; and thus was lost that confidence in a central source of justice which makes so large a composite in what we call a national consciousness.

Great public events, involving the welfare of a whole people, must also play a chief part in national development. For a century and a half after the War of Independence, however, there was hardly an outstanding event that exercised a powerful influence in invigorating national sentiment. No great movement absorbed the mind of the people; and no public calamity or triumph set their hearts beating in unison with common fear or exultation. In the protracted struggle between the Crown and the nobility, which is the dominant characteristic of the period, there was little to stimulate patriotism or to bind in

The Moulding of the Scottish Nation 253

closer union the different sections of the kingdom. To the people in general it was indifferent which faction gained a temporary ascendancy, though the debasement of the coinage by James III. appears to have evoked a popular feeling which strengthened the successive rebellions against his authority. There was, indeed, one permanent feeling in the breasts of the Scottish people which must be reckoned among the most effectual influences in fusing them into a nation. Since the War of Independence England had never lost sight of its aim of re-attaching the country which had once been in its grasp. Its own troubles had prevented the repetition of the concentrated attempts of Edward I.; but persistently, though intermittently, almost every English king had shown that he only wanted the opportunity to repeat Edward's work. Hatred and fear of an inveterate and formidable enemy, therefore, were feelings shared by the great mass of the Scottish people, and which were bound to strengthen the sentiment of a common nationality. The animating motive of Blind Harry's poem, produced at the close of the fifteenth century, is sheer detestation of England—a motive which finds expression even in Acts of Parliament and other documents of the period.

With the opening of the sixteenth century begins a new phase in the development of the European countries. The new departure was due to the widened scope of thought and action in almost every sphere of human experience. In speculation the scholastic philosophy ceased to be a living interest for the most active minds; before the century was long begun Luther shook Christendom to its foundations; trade and commerce passed under new laws and regulations, becoming national instead of merely municipal concerns; and the very limits of the earth were extended by the discovery of another hemisphere. Under the influence of such facts and ideas individuals and peoples were quickened to a degree of self-consciousness which had been impossible under the comparative routine of the Middle Age. In different measures and by different manifestations we see the vivifying forces at work in England, Spain, and France—now consolidated kingdoms under the direction of virtually absolute rulers. Isolated as she was by nature and circumstances, Scotland could not share to the same extent as these countries in the general movement that was ushering in the new time. Later in the century, indeed, she had an experience of her own to pass through which supplied the spiritual momentum requisite

254 The Moulding of the Scottish Nation

to reveal a people to itself and give a direction to its destinies. Yet under James IV., at the opening of the century, Scotland made a notable stride forward in national development.

It was a fortunate dispensation that gave her a king like James at this special period. Though somewhat lacking in the sense of royal responsibility, he possessed many qualities that fitted him to govern a people when novelties were in the air. Intelligent, curious, and enterprising, he was peculiarly open to new ideas, and even unduly eager to see them put in practice. The work he accomplished in consolidating his kingdom gives him a notable place among our princes. Beyond any of his predecessors, James succeeded in making the Highlands and Islands an integral part of his dominion. He definitively broke the power of the Lords of the Isles, thus ridding the Crown of a power that had been virtually a formidable rival, and he reduced the Highlands generally to a state of peace and order which they had never previously known. It has just been said that one of the chief forces that tend to create a nation is the sense of a supreme fountain of justice over which the prince is the presiding divinity, and among our kings few did more to deepen this sense throughout every class of his subjects. He was indefatigable in his attendance on the justice-eyres, by which justice was administered at regular intervals throughout every quarter of the kingdom. Above all he gave a local place and habitation to the Supreme Court of Justice—known as the 'Daily Council'—by virtually making Edinburgh its permanent abode. And in passing, the significance of this step deserves to be specially noted. Till the close of the fifteenth century Scotland could hardly be said to have possessed a capital. Before that period parliaments and conventions had met indifferently in the chief towns of the kingdom as the exigencies of the moment had dictated. The kings, also, had no fixed place of abode, and took up their residence wherever state business or their own pleasure called them. Henceforward, however, Edinburgh became the settled home of the sovereign; except on rare occasions Parliament now met there; and there, as we have seen, James fixed the head-quarters of law. The significance of this concentration was that Scotland now possessed an acknowledged centre from which could radiate all the inappreciable influences that bind a people to a common goal and destiny. What the possession of an undisputed capital implied for the growth of national feeling is abundantly proved in the history

The Moulding of the Scottish Nation 255

of every country. We are now carefully warned against the use of physical illustrations in reference to history, but it seems an innocent analogy to compare the function of the capital in the body politic to the function of the heart in the animal body.

In still another sphere of his activity James did an important work in consolidating his kingdom, though, as the future was to show, it was a work attended by unhappy as well as benign results. In the three contemporary kingdoms—England, France, and Spain—there was an equally marked endeavour on the part of their rulers to make themselves absolute princes. Henry VIII., Francis I., and Charles V., all in greater or less degree succeeded in achieving this object. The policy of James IV. shows that he consciously aimed at the same result, and the history of his reign proves that he in a great degree attained it. From the time that he reached his majority he appears to have set himself to dispense with Parliaments, and to govern through the Privy Council, which, though it dates from David II., first took definite shape in James's own reign. But, as the members of this Council were his own nominees, he thus made himself virtually the uncontrolled master of his kingdom. The immediate outcome of this policy was in the true interests of the country. The great national evil of the preceding century had been the over-riding of the Crown by the nobles, with the result that effective administration and a consecutive public policy had been equally rendered impossible. In these conditions the tendency towards national unity had been inevitably checked and retarded. When James found himself in a position to govern through a docile Privy Council, this evil came to a temporary end. From the time that he reached manhood, the nobles ceased to play a leading part in the affairs of the kingdom; and he is himself the one dominating figure to his reign's disastrous close. But though the immediate consequences of his policy were beneficent, it was fraught with sinister results for the future. It was the example of James IV. that inspired James VI. and Charles I. in imposing their will on their subjects through a Council which simply existed to register their behests.

Such were the important results of James's rule in knitting his kingdom to a closer unity. Yet of all the actions and events of his reign, it was perhaps its closing disaster that most effectually served the happy end. Such a calamity as that of Flodden has a power to evoke a consentaneous national feeling

256 The Moulding of the Scottish Nation

which no other experience can produce. It is the misfortunes of the household that bind its members in the closest bonds of interest and affection, and, as all history shows, it is the sense of common calamity that gives to a nation one heart and soul and mind. On the field of Flodden, as we have been so often told, there was hardly a family of name that did not lose father, brother, or son. From the remotest Hebrides, from Highlands and Lowlands, the ill-starred host had come, on an errand from which human foresight and 'metaphysical aid' seemed alike to dissuade the infatuated king, yet was it precisely this sense of inevitable doom, combined with overwhelming disaster, that gave the memory of Flodden an undying place in the heart and imagination of the Scottish people.

The sobriquets by which James V. was known among his subjects—'The Gaberlunzie King,' the 'Red Tod,' the 'King of the Commons'—show that he held a permanent place in their affections, but his public policy cannot be said to have forwarded the work of consolidating the nation. His reign saw the beginnings of a new chapter in the national history. A fateful question was now presented to the country, the decision of which must determine the direction of its future development. The question was—what were to be its future relations to England and France respectively? For more than two centuries England had been regarded as a natural enemy, against whose insatiable cupidity Scotland must ever be on its guard. As an ally against their common enemy she had cultivated France, and the last fruit of the alliance had been the disaster of Flodden. In the people at large that disaster had only intensified the hereditary hatred of its instrument, but thinking men had already begun to be of opinion that the time had come when a new policy would be in the best interests of the country. John Major, the historian, and later Sir David Lyndsay, the poet, both 'kindly Scots,' if ever there were such, publicly argued that England and not France was Scotland's natural ally. Henry VIII.'s breach with Rome, however, at first seemed to put reconciliation further off than ever, though, in the gyration of events, it was to be the main cause of drawing the two countries together. James V. had never any hesitation as to which of the two paths he should follow. His first marriage with Magdalen of France and his second with Mary of Lorraine committed not only himself but his successor Mary to the hereditary policy of antagonism to

The Moulding of the Scottish Nation 257

England and alliance with France. In this policy James had the sympathies of his people behind him, and the character and conduct of Henry VIII. deepened the estrangement between the two peoples. What we have to note in connection with our present purpose, however, is that James had not inherited his father's gifts of conciliating or repressing a turbulent nobility. The disgraceful affair of Solway Moss is the final commentary on his conduct of affairs both at home and abroad. At the call of James IV. noble and commoner had followed him across the English border; despite entreaties and threats his son could not collect a force to attend him on a similar adventure. In the opposition of the nobles, there were doubtless very mixed motives, but the motive which they themselves put forward had its ground in fact and reason; in their king's eagerness to carry fire and sword into England he was serving France better than his own kingdom.

At the death of James V. it might seem that Scotland was less a united nation than it had been at the death of his father. In point of fact she had but entered on one of those momentous crises in which a nation comes to a full consciousness of itself, and with fully opened eyes chooses the path which its instincts impel it to follow. The reign of Mary had not well begun when her people had to face another dilemma besides that of the French or English alliance. The choice between two policies was complicated by the choice between two religions. With the details of the revolution in policy and religion we are not here concerned. The question before us is, in what manner and degree the double revolution influenced the development of the people that carried it through.

The one governing fact is that for the first time in their history the Scottish people had to determine a question which demanded the forthputting of their whole heart and mind. But here it is well to remember that when we speak of a nation we do not mean the number of heads that make up the population. The nation of any country is that section of the population which, by its capacity of thought and feeling, by the strength of its convictions and the strenuousness of its action, determines the main current of the general life and presents the characteristics which specifically distinguish one nation from another. Understood in this sense, the Scottish nation during the reign of Mary consisted of a few thousands, mainly to be found in the chief towns of the kingdom. On this elect few it devolved to

258 The Moulding of the Scottish Nation

choose the course which the whole people were to follow and to develop those national traits by which the Scottish character is known to the world. But of this chosen number it was not to be expected that all would see eye to eye on the momentous questions that were submitted to them. Some by natural instinct favoured the old order, and wished to abide in the ways of their fathers. To such it seemed the wisest and safest policy to hold by the ancient religion and the traditional alliance, and not to venture on courses which might lead no man knew whither. Wherever the new faith had appeared, these persons argued—in France, in Germany, in England—civil discord and revolution had been the invariable result. On the other hand, the greater number of the select body of the people came to be of a different mind. To them the teaching of the new religion appeared to be a revelation from Heaven which no individual or nation could reject without forfeiture both in this world and the next. But if the new faith were to be adopted, it was with Protestant England and not with Catholic France that the destinies of Scotland must be linked. It was in the collision of thought and feeling between these two classes of persons that a Scottish nation in the strict sense of the term became a real entity, conscious of itself and with a destiny to fulfil. In the imbroglio of the Reformation struggle we are apt to lose sight of this fact. In the maze of statecraft and diplomacy we see only the failure and success of one and another stroke of policy, and we are bewildered into imagining that these were the determining factors in the final issue. In point of fact, statesmen and diplomatists were but the conscious or unconscious instruments of the new forces that were working in society, and which were impelling the various peoples along the paths which long-inherited instincts marked out for them. The French people, says Michelet, would not have the Reformation; Scotland, on the other hand, wished to have it; and the different choice of the two peoples is only to be explained by their respective idiosyncrasies which had been evolved in the long process of time.

The essential significance of the Scottish Reformation, therefore, is that for the first time in our history we find a great question submitted to a public opinion sufficiently developed to understand and realise its importance. The result, as has been said, was a collision of thought and feeling which evoked into clear day the latent instincts and propensions which had been

The Moulding of the Scottish Nation 259

evolved in the past history of the people. Character in the individual is formed in the conflict of warring impulses, and so it is with nations. Whenever a nation attains to self-consciousness, the same phenomena invariably appear. If the nation is truly alive, there will be division on fundamental questions; when such division ceases, it implies that the nation has ceased to exist, either through its own paralysis or the tyranny of external circumstance.

The course of Scottish history subsequent to the Reformation is the sufficient illustration of the foregoing remarks. During the century and a half which elapsed from the Reformation to the Revolution, Scotland was engaged in seeking a political equilibrium which had been disturbed by the overthrow of the ancient religion. The successive sovereigns of Scotland and the most strenuous section of their subjects held incompatible views regarding the relations of Church and State, and as each of the parties believed their opinions to be the absolute will of God, compromise was impossible so long as this state of things endured. But the very existence of such a permanent crisis is the proof that in Scotland there now existed a nation in the strictest sense of the term. In the period prior to the Reformation we have no parallel to the situation that had been created by that event. Down to the middle of the sixteenth century we find occasional popular discontent and chronic disputes between the Crown and the feudal lords, but we find no great national question evoking a public opinion divided alike by reason and passion; in other words, previous to the change of religion, Scotland cannot be regarded as a nation in the true sense of the term. If we fix our eyes on the most remarkable event in Scottish history during the seventeenth century, we realise what in its fullest sense is implied in the distinction. In the portentous uprising which produced the National Covenant we find all the manifestations which characterise a national act—unity of action determined by reason and passion towards a fully apprehended goal.

P. HUME BROWN.

A Literary Relic of Scottish Lollardy

THE Scottish Text Society have done a great service to many departments of historical inquiry by the publication of Murdoch Nisbet's *New Testament in Scots*,¹ the second volume being part of last year's issue.

The history of the MS. is given in Dr. Law's scholarly preface to the first volume, which was published in 1901. It is briefly this: Sometime before 1500, Murdoch Nisbet,² of Hardhill, in the parish of Loudon, Ayrshire, became a Lollard, and left the communion of the Medieval Church in Scotland. He shared in the troubles which befell his companions in the faith, and fled 'over seas' 'abroad.' In his exile he transcribed for himself a copy of Wycliffe's *New Testament*. The transcription was made from the second edition of Wycliffe's translation—that improved by his friend and disciple, John Purvey, and published probably in 1388, or four years after the death of Wycliffe. Dr. Law believes that the transcript was made about the year 1520. Somewhat later Nisbet added a prologue, which is for the most part a close translation of Luther's preface to the New Testament, first published in September, 1522, and some years afterwards appended Tyndal's long prologue to the Epistle to the Romans, which was first printed in 1525.

¹ Scottish Text Society. *The New Testament in Scots*; being Purvey's Revision of Wycliffe's Version, Turned into Scots by Murdoch Nisbet, c. 1520; edited from the unique MS. in the possession of Lord Amherst of Hackney, by Thomas Graves Law, LL.D., vol. i., 1901, vol. ii., 1903. Printed for the Society by William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London.

[² Murdoch Nisbet of Hardhill had a son Alexander, whose son, James, was succeeded by his son, John Nisbet, in Hardhill. John Nisbet was a devoted Covenanter; he was one of Gustavus Adolphus' Scotch officers, and commanded a troop of horse at Bothwell Bridge; he was executed at the Grassmarket in 1684.

His granddaughter, Elizabeth Nisbet, married Charles Weir, whose daughter, Elizabeth, married Thomas Lindsay, the grandfather of the author of this paper.

In a Review dealing, *inter alia*, with genealogical subjects, it is not without interest to notice, what must be an extremely rare occurrence—an author being reviewed by his direct descendant in the ninth generation.—EDITOR, S.H.R.]

A Literary Relic of Scottish Lollardy 261

The book shared the fortunes of the writer. It was his companion when he went into hiding in a vault which he had 'dug and built' under his own house at Hardhill, in which he remained concealed until the death of James V., and where he 'instructed some few that had access to him.' It was bequeathed as a precious legacy to his descendants. It was at last sold to a bookseller, from whom it was bought by Sir Alexander Boswell, and it remained among the Auchenleck Papers until 1893. It is now in the possession of Lord Amherst, of Hackney, who has permitted the Scottish Text Society to print it.

The existence of the book has been long known to persons interested in Scottish ecclesiastical history. Wodrow and M'Crie both refer to it; but neither seem to have seen the MS., nor to have recognised its unique character. For it is not a simple transcript of Purvey's edition of Wycliffe's *New Testament*; it is a translation of that book into the Scots language. It is the only version which exists of the New Testament in the tongue of the northern portion of Great Britain. It is more. It is the only literary relic we possess of the Scottish Lollards. It was made 'over seas' or 'abroad,' and suggests a connection between Scottish Lollardy and a kindred faith outside Scotland. It must be classed among the pre-reformation translations of the Bible; for it is a version made not from the Greek New Testament, but from the Vulgate, which was *the* Medieval Bible.

This *New Testament in Scots* therefore suggests some interesting questions: Its value as an example of the old Scots language; the attitude of the Medieval Church to translations of Scripture into the vernaculars of Europe; translations of the Bible from the Vulgate more or less contemporary with Nisbet's, or with the much earlier work of Purvey; Scottish Lollardy; and the relation which a Scottish Lollard might have in the beginning of the sixteenth century with companions in the faith outside Scotland.

The linguistic question, even if I were competent to discuss it, which I am not, had best be left untouched until we have the third volume, with the promised remarks of Mr. Hall on the linguistic peculiarities of the text; and I content myself with some observations on other questions suggested by Dr. Law's preface.

The relation of the Medieval Church to vernacular translations of the Vulgate for the benefit of the people is a somewhat complex question. This is certain that the Medieval

Church always proclaimed that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments were the supreme source and authority for all questions of doctrine and morals, and that in the earlier stages of the Reformation controversy the supreme authority of the Holy Scriptures was not supposed to be one of the matters of dispute between the contending parties. This is at once evident when we remember that the *Augsburg Confession*, unlike the later Confessions of the Reformed Churches, does not contain any Article affirming the supreme authority of Scripture. That was not supposed to be a question in debate. It was reserved for the Council of Trent, for the first time, to place *traditiones sine scripto* on the same level of authority with the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments (4th Sess., *Dec. de Can. Script.*). Hence, when we examine the small booklets written for the home instruction of the people, issued, many of them, from Convent presses, in the decades before the Reformation, it is frequently asserted that the whole teaching of the Church is to be found contained within the Books of the Holy Scriptures.

Then while it is undoubted that the highest authorities of the Medieval Church urgently forbade, over and over again, the reading of the Scripture by the laity in the vernacular, it will be found that these prohibitions were generally, though by no means invariably, connected with endeavours to suppress movements which were deemed to be heretical, and at the same time viewed as dangerous to ecclesiastical authority and to the possessions and privileges of the clergy. Thus the strongest prohibition of the vernacular Scriptures comes from the times of the Albigenses: 'Prohibemus etiam, ne libros veteris Testamenti aut novi laici permittantur habere; nisi forte psalterium, vel brevarium pro divinis officiis, aut horas B. Mariae aliquis ex devotione habere velit. Sed ne praemissos libros habeant in vulgari translato, arctissime inhibemus' (*Conc. of Toulouse* of 1229, c. 14). And under the same class may be put the 7th of the *Constitutiones* of Arundel (1408): *Ordinamus ut nemo deinceps aliquem textum S. Scripturae auctoritate sua in linguam Anglicanam vel aliam transferat per viam libri, libelli, aut tractatus.*

On the other hand, no official encouragement of the reading of the Scriptures in the vernacular by the people can be found during the whole of the Middle Age, and no official patronage of vernacular translations. The utmost which was done in the way of tolerating, it can scarcely be said of encouraging, a know-

ledge of the vernacular Scriptures, was the issue of vernacular psalters, of Service-books, and, in the fifteenth century, of the *Plenaria*—little books which contained translations of some of the paragraphs from the Gospels and Epistles read in the Church service, accompanied by legends and popular tales. Translations of the Scriptures into the vernacular were continually reprobated for various reasons, such as the incapacity of the ordinary layman, and especially of women, to understand the Scriptures: *Tanta est enim divinae Scripturae profunditas ut non solum simplices et illiterati, sed etiam prudentes et docti non plene sufficiant ad ipsius intelligentiam indagandum* (Innocent III., *Epist.* ii. 141); or that the vernaculars were unable to express the profundity of the thoughts contained in the original languages of Scriptures, as was said by Berthold, Archbishop of Mainz, in his diocesan edict of 1486. It is also evident that a knowledge of the Scriptures in the vernacular, especially by uneducated men and by women, was almost always taken to be a sign of heretical tendency. An Austrian Inquisitor, writing in the end of the thirteenth century, says: *Tertia causa haeresis est, quia Novum et Vetus Testamentum vulgariter transtulerunt; et sic docent et discunt. Audivi et vidi quendam rusticum idiotam, qui Job recitavit de verbo ad verbum, et plures, qui totum Novum Testamentum perfecte sciverunt.*¹ Upon the whole a survey of the evidence seems to lead to the conclusion that the official guides of the Medieval Church down to the time of the Reformation distinctly discouraged the translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular, that they regarded a knowledge of the vernacular Scriptures with grave suspicion, but that they did not as a rule condemn the possession of copies of the vernacular Scriptures by persons whom they believed to be trustworthy, whether clergy, monks or nuns, or distinguished laymen.

This brings us to the second question—the existence of vernacular translations of the whole Scriptures during the fifteenth and the earlier decades of the sixteenth centuries. It

¹The quotation is from the 3rd chap. of the *Summa* of Rainerius, who was an Inquisitor in Lombardy, and who died in 1259. I am aware that this book, as we now have it, has been largely interpolated; that only the 6th chapter contains the original Rainerius; and that the portion from which I have taken the quotation belongs to one of the later additions made by an Austrian Inquisitor; cf. Gieseler's critical study of the book in his *Göttinger Osterprogramm* of 1834, entitled *Comm. Crit. de Rainerii Sachoni Summa de Catharis et Leonistis*.

would appear that the growing spread of education during the fifteenth century, due in the Low Countries and in Germany mainly to the schools of the Brethren of the Common Life, created a desire among the people for the Scriptures in the vernacular, and that this was satisfied by the production of many vernacular translations. The oldest German version exists in an incomplete MS., which contains only the Old Testament, and which experts date about the year 1400. It bears, in its surviving form, neither place of writing nor date. The earliest French vernacular Bible came somewhat later. The earliest Bohemian version is dated 1417. Of course there were much older versions both in the Romance and in the Teutonic languages. The records of Councils and the reports of Inquisitors make that plain. But the evidence does not support an assertion commonly made that these earlier versions influenced all the fifteenth century translations of the Scriptures into the vernacular. Nor does the evidence bear out another statement also frequently made, that we owe all these translations to men who were hostile to the Roman See. John Rellach, a native of Constance, was a student in Rome in 1450, and while there heard a Greek bishop preach about the disaster to Christendom caused by the Fall of Constantinople. Rellach and other student friends believed that this disaster was a punishment sent by God on account of the evil state of the Christian people of Europe, and he and his friends thought that the evils came largely because the people were not acquainted with the Word of God. He resolved to make a translation of the whole Bible into German. He began his work in 1450 and it was not finished before 1470. He adds little autobiographical details at the close of portions of his translation. He was a firm believer in the authority of the Pope; but he also believed that the common people ought to have access to the whole Scriptures and that the reading of the Bible 'was well pleasing to God.'

When the invention of printing had made the diffusion of literature easy, it is noteworthy that the earliest printing presses in Germany printed many more books for family and private devotion, many more *Plenaria*, and many more editions of the Bible than editions of the classics. Twenty-two editions of the Psalter in German appeared before 1509, and twenty-five of the Gospels and Epistles before 1518. No less than fourteen versions of the whole Bible were printed in High-German and four in Low-German during the last decades of the fifteenth

and earlier decades of the sixteenth century—all translations from the Vulgate. The first was issued by John Mentel in Strassburg in 1466. There followed another Strassburg edition in 1470; two Augsburg editions in 1473; one in the Swiss dialect in 1474; two in Augsburg in 1477; one in Augsburg in 1480; one in Nürnberg in 1483; one in Strassburg in 1485; and editions in Augsburg in 1487, 1490, 1507 and 1518.

It cannot be shown that all these versions were issued by enemies of the Medieval Church or that they were all promoted by the 'Brethren' or Waldenses or Hussites; as little can it be proved that they were printed in the interests of the authorities of the Church. It is somewhat significant, however, that none of these versions came from any of the Convent Printing Presses; that the Koburgers, the celebrated Nürnberg firm which printed so many Bibles, were also the printers of the Catechism in use among the 'Brethren,' Waldensian, German and Bohemian; that Augsburg, which issued from its presses so many editions of the vernacular Bible, was the chosen home of the German 'Brethren,' and that printers were the artizans who more than any other class inclined to associate with the 'Brethren'; that the last decades of the fifteenth and the early decades of the sixteenth century witnessed all over Germany the growth of a non-ecclesiastical Christianity manifesting itself in a great variety of ways; and that the German 'Brethren' and the Waldenses seemed to have used the same Bible that was in use among the adherents of the Medieval Church. All these things go to show that these vernacular Bibles came to supply a popular need apart from any ecclesiastical impulse; while proclamations such as those of the Archbishops of Mainz and Cologne establishing a censorship of printed books and having special references to printed Bibles, show that the authorities of the Medieval Church viewed this circulation of the Scriptures with something like alarm.

A careful comparison of these printed vernacular Bibles proves that the earlier issues at least were independent productions; but as edition succeeded edition the text became gradually assimilated until it may be almost said that there came into existence a German Vulgate which was used indiscriminately by those who adhered to and by those who objected to the Medieval Church. These German versions of the Vulgate were largely, but by no means completely, displaced by Luther's version. The Anabaptists, who were

the lineal descendants of these pre-Reformation evangelical 'Brethren,' retained this German Vulgate long after the publication of Luther's version, and these pre-Reformation German Bibles were to be found in use almost two hundred years after the Reformation.

Scottish Lollardy, Dr. Law says, is an obscure subject. In a sense this is true. The records of the Inquisitorial and other ecclesiastical courts appointed to ferret out, try, and punish Scottish Lollards have wholly disappeared, so far as I know. It may be a question, however, whether the obscurity which rests over these persecuted persons does not proceed, to some extent at least, from the lack of competent investigation. No historian or antiquary since Dr. David Laing has brought together all the Scottish sources of information, and his list is somewhat defective. Nor has any one attempted to find what light may be thrown upon the subject by comparing the movement in Scotland with similar ones on the continent of Europe. I am inclined to think that, if this were done, it would be found that a consistent picture of Scottish Lollardy might be constructed. Take, for example, the episode of Paul Craw or Cwarar in 1431 or 1432. Every country in Europe was then being flooded with Hussite manifestoes, and traversed by Hussite emissaries, with the result that the Council of Basel was rendered inevitable.¹ It is not too much to say that almost every incident concerning Scottish Lollardy which has come down to us from Scottish can be illustrated, explained, and enlarged from continental sources. It is impossible to do so within the limits of this paper. All that can be attempted is to collect and state as briefly as possible the Scottish sources of information, and to arrange them in chronological order.

Our earliest exact date concerning Wyclif is 1361, when he was Master of Balliol College and a power in the University of Oxford. When we turn to the *Rotuli Scotiae* we find a continuous stream of Scottish students going to the English Universities under safe-conducts from the English monarchs, from 1357 on to 1389. During the earlier years of this period—that is, up to 1364—the safe-conducts applied for and obtained entitled the bearers to go to Oxford, Cambridge, Durham, or elsewhere; but from 1364 on to 1379 Oxford seems to have

¹ John of Segovia tells us what effect they had in Spain (*Monumenta Concilii*, ii. 5).

been the one University frequented.¹ The years during which, according to the evidence of the *Rotuli Scotiae*, the Scottish students turned exclusively, or almost exclusively, to the University of Oxford, were those during which the influence of Wyclif was most powerful, and when the whole of the University life seethed with Lollardy. During one of those years, 1365, safe-conducts seem to have been given to no fewer than eighty-one Scottish students to study at Oxford. This shows the very intimate connection between the English movement under Wyclif and Scottish students.

By the year 1405 Scottish Lollardy had attracted the attention of the civil authorities. Robert, Duke of Albany, was appointed Governor of Scotland in that year, and Andrew of Wyntoun, in his *Metrical Chronicle*, commended him for his fidelity to the cause of the Church:

‘He wes a constant Catholike,
All Lollard he hatyt and heretike.’²

In 1405 or 1406 we find an alliance between the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities in Scotland for the purpose of exterminating Lollardy and other heresy. This is shown by the existence of an Inquisitorial Court, presided over by a *Haereticæ Pravitatis Inquisitor* in the person of Lawrence of Lindores. This Lawrence was abbot of Scone in 1411 (and may have been so at an earlier date); he became the first Professor of Law in the University of St. Andrews, and is said to have written a book, *Examen Haereticorum Lolardorum, quos toto regno exegit*. He presided at the trial, condemnation, and execution by burning of James Resby, an English presbyter ‘of the School of Wyclife.’ Resby, according to the chronicler, was a preacher much admired by the common people. The Inquisitor found him guilty on forty-two counts of heresy, the second being that no one could be the Pope or the Vicar

¹*Rotuli Scotiae*, i. pp. 808, 815, 816, 822, 825, 828, 829, 849, 851, 859, 877, 881, 886, 891, 896, and ii. pp. 8, 20, 45, 100.

²*Historians of Scotland*, iii. p. 100; or Wyntoun’s *Orygynale Cronykil*, ix. ch. xxvi. lines 2773, 2774. Lollard is with Wyntoun a general term for dissentients from the Church of the period, for he says of the Emperor Theodosius:

‘Tyrandryis and mawmentryis
Herryssys and Lollardyis
He fordyd.’

v. xi. line 3970; cf. *Historians of Scotland*, ii. p. 401.

of Christ unless he was a saintly man.¹ This was a universal belief among the 'Brethren,' who held that no ecclesiastical ceremony of ordination or other could override the universal moral law of God.

We may infer that Lollardy had found entrance into the newly founded University of St. Andrews (founded 1405), for at a Congregation held in 1416 all intending Masters of Arts were required as part of their graduation oath to declare against Lollardy.

In spite of all such attempts to extirpate it, Lollardy lived on, and was a declared source of anxiety both to Church and State. It began to figure in the Acts of the Scots Parliaments. In a Parliament held by James I. at Perth, soon after his return from his captivity in England, it was enacted (March 12th, 1424-25) that all bishops were to make search through their Inquisitorial Courts for all Heretics and Lollards, and apply, if necessary, to the civil authorities to support them; and in succeeding years other Acts were directed either against Lollardy or against the fruitful soil which produced it—the corruption and luxury of the Church in Scotland, and especially among the higher clergy.²

In 1431 or 1432 Paul Crow or Crawar was seized, tried before the Inquisitorial Court, condemned, and burnt as a heretic.³ He had brought letters from the Hussites of Prag, and acknowledged that he had been sent to interest the Scots in the Hussite movement—one of the many emissaries who were then being sent into all European lands by the Hussite leaders, John of Rokycana and Procopius. He was a skilled physician, and in all probability used the art of healing to screen his mission. Examples of this are not lacking among the descriptions of the work of the 'Brethren' on the Continent.⁴ Like all the prominent 'Brethren,' he was found by

¹ For Resby's case, see Fordun's *History*, continuation by Bower, Lib. xv. cap. xx. After stating what the two first counts were, the chronicler adds: *De consimilibus, vel pejoribus, tenuit quadraginta conclusiones*. Resby's writings were cherished by the people after his death, and were a source of heresy, we are told.

² *Act Parl. Scot.*, ii. 7, etc.

³ Fordun's *History*, continuation by Bower, Lib. xv. cap. xx.; Sir James Balfour's *Annals*, i. 161.

⁴ Cf. D. H. Arnold, *Kirchengeschichte des Königreichs Preussen*, p. 319—the case of Dr. Albanus Leander, a physician.

the Inquisitor to be a man *in sacris literis et in allegatione Bibliae promptus et exercitatus*. This is the universal testimony of the records of Inquisitors, from the end of the thirteenth century at least. The Scottish Inquisitor evidently acquired great credit in discovering and slaying the Hussite envoy.

Some authorities are disposed to include the deposition and imprisonment of Archbishop Graham as an episode belonging to the history of Scottish Lollardy, and Dr. Laing includes it in his collection of notices.¹ But there appears to me to be no evidence for any sympathy with Lollardy in any of Graham's actions. To recognise the ecclesiastical corruption of the day, and to strive to amend it, was one thing; Lollardy was another; and as for the charges of heresy—such charges, true or false, were always brought forward during the Middle Ages when a Churchman had to be got rid of.

In 1494, Knox tells us in his *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, Campbell of Cesnock, with twenty-nine companions, all belonging to Ayrshire, were summoned before King James IV. and accused of holding Lollard opinions. Knox quotes thirty-four counts of indictment preferred against them by Archbishop Blackadder of Glasgow, which he took from the diocesan register. These heads of accusation are valuable, because they represent what the Romanist clergy of the day believed the Lollard opinions to be, and also because they give a sure basis for comparison with the opinions of the continental 'Brethren.'²

About the same date Quintin Kennedy, in his short poem entitled *In Prais of Aige*, bears witness to the prevalence of Lollardy in Scotland:

'The schip of faith, tempestuous wind and rane,
Dryvis in the see of Lollerdry that blaws.'

The same writer, in his 'Flyting' with William Dunbar, calls his opponent 'Lamp Lollardorum,' and:

'Judas, jow, juglour, Lollard Laureate,
Sarazene, symonyte, provit Pagane.'³

¹ *The Works of John Knox*, edited and collected by David Laing, vol. i. p. 499.

² Knox, *History of the Reformation in Scotland* (Laing's edition), i. 6-11. The trial and acquittal of the Laird of Cesnock is also referred to in Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, i. 456, where the letter of Alexander Alesius to King James V. is quoted; also in M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, 2nd ed. i. 418, where the rare poem of John Davidson is quoted.

³ (Lord Hailes), *Ancient Scottish Poems*, published from the MS. of George Bannatyne, Edin. 1770, p. 190; Dunbar's *Poems* (Scottish Text Society), ii. 28.

It must have been about the same time also that Murdoch Nisbet became a Lollard, fled the country 'over seas,' returned to live in hiding, and only felt safe after the death of James V.¹

Somewhat later we have the history of John Andrew Duncan of Airdree, in Fifeshire, and of Maynar (or Mainwarre), in Stirlingshire, in the *Biographia Britannica*, founded, it is said, on family papers. Duncan was taken prisoner at the battle of Flodden, was carried into Yorkshire, and there was permitted, by the courtesy of the Duke of Surrey, to live with a Mr. Burnet, a relation of his mother. Burnet was a zealous Lollard, and Duncan became a convert to his opinions. When the prisoner returned to Scotland, he became involved in the opposition to the regency of the Duke of Albany, and had to flee the country. When he was at length allowed to live in peace on his own estate, his house became a natural meeting-place for all who desired a religious reformation in the realm. The author makes the curious statement that Duncan found many sympathisers in Fifeshire, because sons of English Lollards and of German Hussites had been sent to St. Andrews for their education during the closing years of the fifteenth century. This would be a very important contribution to the history of Scottish Lollardy, if it did not stand alone and without any confirmation. Through the courtesy of Mr. Maitland Anderson, I have had the opportunity of studying the lists of the *Incorporati* of the University of St. Andrews, and they do not contain any names which are distinctly foreign.² The absence of foreign names from these lists does not disprove the statement, for the *Incorporati* included only a small proportion of the students—those who had attended for three years, and who had the right of voting. On the other hand, I cannot find any corroborative evidence from the English or German sides.³

The earlier poems of Sir David Lindsay, which belong to the years 1529 and 1530, may also be quoted as containing Lollard opinions. It is true that Lutheran writings had found their way into Scotland some years earlier, and that these may

¹ Wodrow Society, *Select Biographies*, ii. pp. 377 ff.

² Mr. J. T. T. Brown has kindly looked at these names and confirms this statement.

³ *Biographia Britannica*, v. 493.

have influenced the writer. But the sentiments in the *Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo* are more Lollard than Lutheran.¹

Lastly, there is the statement made by Wodrow in his *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*,² 'I have been informed that the predecessors of this ancient family (Gordon of Earlstoun) entertained the disciples of Wicliff, and had a new Testament in the vulgar tongue, which they used in reading at meetings in the woods about Earlstoun House.' The author gives no date.

When all these statements are brought together it will be seen that there is a good deal of contemporary evidence relating to the Scottish Lollards; and if they were, as they can be, illustrated and enlarged by continental evidence, some of the obscurity which is said to surround Scottish Lollardy would be largely dispelled.

Dr. Law informs us that Murdoch Nisbet made his Scots version while he was absent from Scotland. He interprets the phrase 'over seas' to mean England, and it is undoubted that the words will bear that interpretation. He may have further evidence than is at my command; but if he has no more than is contained in the *True Relation of the Life and Sufferings of John Nisbet in Hardhill*, reprinted by the Wodrow Society in the second volume of their *Select Biographies* (not in their *Miscellany* as Dr. Law says by an evident slip), it appears to me that the probabilities are that Nisbet went to Germany or perhaps to the Low Countries. I am inclined to infer this from the early use made by him of Luther's Prologue, which I venture to suggest could hardly have been easily accessible in England at the date required to fit all the evidence so carefully marshalled by Dr. Law as to the date of the transcript. In spite of what Dr. James Gairdner says (*Historical Essays*, p. 3) English Lollardy was alive, propagating itself, and had connections with Scottish Lollardy during the first quarter of the sixteenth century (cf. *Biographia Brit.*, v. 492, and M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, 2nd ed. pp. 420, 421), and Nisbet might have found refuge in England even although the period included the years immediately preceding and succeeding the battle of Flodden. But on the

¹ *The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount*, edited by David Laing, i. pp. 88 ff.

² Bk. iii. ch. ii.; vol. ii. p. 67 of the ed. of 1722.

other hand, Nisbet was sure to be welcomed and protected in many parts of Germany for his faith's sake—simply because he was a Lollard—and residence in Germany would explain both his very early acquaintance with Luther's Prologue and his knowledge of German necessary to translate the Prologue into Scots.

The societies of the 'Brethren' had never died out on the continent of Europe, and their communities were existing and very active during the half century before 1520. They can be traced back decade by decade to the close of the thirteenth century at least. They appear in the records of Councils and in the reports of Inquisitors under a great variety of names, among which we find 'Waldenses,' 'Picards,' 'Hussites,' and even 'Wiclifites'; for it would seem as if the authorities of the Medieval Church called them by the name of the prevailing anti-ecclesiastical movement. Thus D. H. Arnold tells us, in his *Kirchengeschichte des Königreichs Preussen*, that the 'Wickliffites' were protected by the civil authorities in East Prussia in 1387, 1393, 1414, and 1422. They called themselves by the name of the 'Brethren,' or the 'Evangelicals' (this latter being later); they professed a simple evangelical creed; they offered a passive resistance to the hierarchical and priestly pretensions of the medieval clergy; they set great store on the education of their children; they had vernacular translations of the Scriptures; and they conducted their religious services in the vernacular. A description of their life and opinions by an Inquisitor in the end of the thirteenth century—fifty years before the Wiclifite movement in England—has many points of resemblance to statements in the Lollard Petition to the English Parliament. He says: 'Haeretici cognoscuntur per mores et verba. Sunt enim in moribus compositi et modesti; superbiam in vestibis non habent, nec pretiosos, nec multum abjectis utuntur. . . . Doctores etiam ipsorum sunt sutores et textores. Divitias non multiplicant, sed necessariis sunt contenti. Casti etiam sunt. . . . Temperati etiam in cibo et potu. Ad tabernas non eunt, nec ad choreas, nec ad alias vanitates. Ab ira se cohibent: semper operantur, discunt vel docent, et ideo parum orant. . . . Cognoscuntur etiam in verbis praecisus et modestis. Cavent etiam a scurrilitate et detractatione, et verborum levitate, et mendacio, et juramento' (*Rainerii Summa*, c. 7). During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries these 'Brethren' were continually subject to local and somewhat spasmodic persecutions when the ecclesiastical authorities could secure

the aid of the civil rulers, which they could not always do, to their schemes of repression. This led to an organisation whereby the 'Brethren,' who for the time being lived in peace, made arrangements to receive and support those who were able to escape from their tormentors. These societies were in active correspondence with their co-religionists all over Europe, and were never so active as in the last decades of the fifteenth and first quarter of the sixteenth centuries. We have no direct evidence that they preserved among them copies of Wycliffe's New Testament, but when we remember the diffusion of Wiclifite literature over Europe, the tenacity with which it was clung to, and the character of the leaders of the 'Brethren,' it is most probable that they did, and that a stranger from England or Scotland would be shown such a treasure. For the leaders of the period of Nisbet's sojourn outside Scotland were not the ignorant fanatics they are continually represented to be. Hans Denck and Conrad Grebel were members of the Erasmus 'circle' in Basel; and Grebel was universally acknowledged to be the ablest Greek scholar in that learned circle. A Scottish Lollard refugee, like Nisbet, would certainly find the welcome, protection, and congenial religious society in many a German town which Tyndal found at Worms. All these considerations induce me to think that Nisbet found shelter, not in England as Dr. Law supposes, but in Germany.

Unfortunately I have found it impossible to compare the *New Testament in Scots* with the pre-reformation German versions above referred to. The copies which survive are scattered over a large number of German Libraries, and the fac-similes of pages and of passages given by Walther (*Die deutsche Bibel-übersetzung des Mittelalters*, Brunswick, 1869), while they afford material to compare the one German version with the other, do not suffice for a comparison with the work of Purvey or of Nisbet. The comparison would be interesting if it were possible.

Let me, in conclusion, express my admiration for the scholarly way in which Dr. Law has accomplished his very arduous undertaking.

THOMAS. M. LINDSAY.

The Municipal Institutions of Scotland : A Historical Survey

Concluded

IN early times,¹ when trade and manufactures were in their infancy, the means of communication limited, and the condition of the country unsettled, the only way by which merchandise could reach many districts was through the instrumentality of traders and pedlars, who collected periodically at fixed centres where fairs and markets were established, and supplied the needs of those who attended these gatherings. The right to hold such fairs and markets was conferred by the Sovereign, and the charters or other royal grants and acts of parliament confirming it were numerous. Every royal burgh seems to have had a right of market and fair at fixed periods, and similar rights were largely granted also to religious houses, and to noblemen and land-owners. The exclusive privileges of trading which the early burghs possessed, as well as the civil and criminal jurisdiction and powers of burghal magistrates and officers, were held in abeyance during the time of fairs, and such disputes as then arose were disposed of by a special court known as *The Court of Dusty Feet*, or *Pie-Poudre Court*.² The execution by burgesses of ordinary processes of law for debt, due to them by 'uplands men,' or

¹The first portion of this Survey, dealing with the early history of Royal Burghs, appeared in the *Scottish Historical Review*, January, 1904.

²Market Rights and Fairs in England, Scotland, and Ireland formed the subject of investigation by Royal Commissioners, whose Reports on 9th August, 1888, and 15th January, 1891, and the voluminous evidence taken by them, fill fourteen folio volumes. A memorandum on the history of these institutions in Scotland, hurriedly prepared by the writer of this article, is incorporated in volume vii. pp. 559-674. But the subject, which is closely associated with the development of this country, deserves fuller treatment.

The Municipal Institutions of Scotland 275

men from the country, was also suspended during that time, and these persons were entitled, equally with burgesses, to the privileges of *lot, cut and cavil* of all kinds of merchandise. During the continuance of a fair also, all persons frequenting it were exempted from arrestment under ordinary processes of law, unless they had broken the peace of the fair coming to it, or while at it, or when returning from it. This protection applied to all offences, save treason or crime for which the church could not give sanctuary. All offenders against the peace of the fair were, however, subject to the doom or law of the Court of the Fair. The protection thus afforded extended also to slaves who had escaped from their masters. Even if stolen goods were discovered in a fair the owner had to bring the possessors of them before the court of the fair by which his claim had to be disposed of.

In royal burghs, or in their vicinity, castles were often erected, and, arbitrary as was frequently the action of the keepers or castellans of such castles in country districts, the *Laws of the Four Burghs* imposed important restrictions upon royal officers of this class. They required that no castellan should, at his own hand, enter the house of a burgess and slay swine or poultry, but should offer to purchase them for the King's service. If, however, the burgess refused to sell, and the swine or poultry were afterwards found on the street, they might be secured and slain,—but only at Yule, Easter, and Whitsunday—the castellan paying their value as appraised by the neighbours. Burgesses were also relieved from the obligation to lend to the bailie of a royal castle goods of greater value than 40d., and for a period of forty days. If the loan was not repaid within that time, the burgess was relieved from the obligation to lend more. If any man in a castle injured a burgess, the latter had to seek redress outside the gates of the castle, and if a burgess injured a man of the castle, the latter had to seek redress in the burgh.

It is difficult to understand much connected with the administration of royal burghs in Scotland without an acquaintance with the constitution and work of the Convention of Burghs. Its records, from 1552 till 1738, have been published by the Convention, and contain information of the first importance not only in regard to the internal government of the royal and free burghs, but to the development of their trade and commerce, and to the commercial relations of Scotland with other countries. No reference even of the slightest

276 The Municipal Institutions of Scotland

character to our municipal institutions can properly overlook that institution, which exercised a commanding influence over Scottish burghs till the union with England, and in a lesser degree till the Burgh Reform Act of 1833.

The Court of the Four Burghs,¹ which ultimately developed into the Convention, appears to have met at first once a year in Haddington, to dispose of such appeals as might be taken to it by Scottish burghs and burgesses. How its appellate jurisdiction originated, or how that jurisdiction was exercised, is not now known, but if a document given by Sir John Skene as the *Curia Quatuor Burgorum* is authentic, the court, at a meeting held in Stirling on 12th October, 1405, ordained two or three sufficient burgesses of each of the King's burghs on the south of the Water of Spey, duly commissioned, to attend the 'parliament of the four burghs' annually, to treat, ordain, and determine upon all things concerning the utility of the common weal of all the burghs, their liberty and court. Thirty-seven years earlier however, viz. in 1368, Lanark and Linlithgow had been substituted, as members of this court, for Berwick and Roxburgh, which had fallen into the hands of the English. In process of time the seat of the court was transferred from Haddington to Edinburgh, and King James I.—who reigned from 1406 till 1437—ordained, with consent of the Estates of the realm, that Edinburgh should continue thenceforth to be the seat of that court. His ordinance was confirmed by King James II. in 1454, and the Great Chamberlain was ordained to cause the court to be held at Edinburgh according to custom. So matters remained, apparently, till 1487, when a parliament of James III. ordained commissioners from *all* burghs, south and north, to convene on the 26th of July annually in Inverkeithing, under a penalty of £5. No record of *any* meeting in that burgh is now extant, and if conventions were held there, the practice of meeting in that burgh must have been discontinued previous to 4th April, 1552, when at a Convention held in Edinburgh, an act was passed in which the act of 1487 is referred to merely as a matter of understanding, and the burghs of the realm were required to convene annually, by their provosts or commissioners, on the last day of July, in such place as might be appointed. This requirement was, however, very irregularly

¹ Consisting, at first, of representatives of Edinburgh, Berwick, Roxburgh, and Stirling.

The Municipal Institutions of Scotland 277

observed, and in 1555 the fine to be exacted from burghs which failed to send representatives was increased to £10. But this increase in the fine was not attended with the desired result. Meetings of the Convention were not regularly held, and in 1578 an act of parliament was passed at Stirling, during the reign of James VI., authorising the convention to meet at such place as the majority deemed most expedient, *four* times in the year, to deal with such matters as concerned their estate. To prevent tumult, each burgh—with the exception of Edinburgh—was appointed to be represented by *one* member, and Edinburgh by *two*. Previous to 1578, and notwithstanding the order to hold *one* annual meeting, *two* or more meetings were sometimes held in the course of the year. So, after 1578, when four annual meetings were authorised, the burghs did not exercise that power, but continued their former practice of assembling at such times and places as they thought expedient—making their meetings often coincident with the meetings of Parliament, to which the burghs also sent representatives. This practice was referred to and ratified by the act 1581, chap. 26, which required all burghs, when cited, to send a commissioner, duly instructed, to the convention under a penalty of £20, for which, on the application of Edinburgh, the Lords of Council and Session were required to issue letters of horning or poiding. The increased penalty thus authorised by statute had, two years previously (*viz.* in 1579), been authorised by a convention held at Stirling in that year. In conformity with the act of 1581 the burghs held their convention at such times and places as the majority determined, but in 1586 they resolved to meet in future, previous to the assembling of parliaments and conventions of the estates, so as to discuss, by themselves, such business as might be submitted to the national assembly. Several of the conventions of burghs, it may be remarked, seem to have been held in obedience to royal letters issued to the burghs, requiring them to send commissioners to a particular town at a specified time, to treat of the several matters enumerated in the letters. In other cases the commissioners of some of the burghs fixed the time and place of the annual meeting, and missives were thereupon directed to all the burghs requiring them to send their commissioners to the convention so fixed. As regards the time and place of those meetings, the burghs seem to have acted without any reference to the statute of 1487.

278 The Municipal Institutions of Scotland

These meetings of burghal representatives retained, so late as 1500, the designation 'The Parliament of the Four Burghs,' and were presided over by the Great or Lord Chamberlain. How long that officer of State attended these assemblies, or how long they continued to be known by that title, does not appear, but a minute in 1529, and all the minutes subsequent to that date, referred to the acts set forth in them as having been passed by the commissioners of the burghs, and make no reference to the Great or Lord Chamberlain, whose withdrawal from attendance at the burghal conventions may have been the result of the changed relations of the burghs to the Crown. Originally, as has been seen, royal burghs belonged in property to the Crown. They were simply aggregations of separate vassals paying each his special quota of rent for the ground occupied by him within the limits of the burgh; and the quota, with the issues of the court held in the burgh, appertained to the Sovereign, and formed part of the royal revenue. But after a time, and as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century, the practice was introduced of granting to the bailies or to the community short leases of the Crown revenues of burghs, for payment into the Exchequer of a fixed rent, or *census burgalis*, for which the bailies were held accountable. This arrangement was succeeded by another, under which the Crown—while retaining its feudal rights over the individual holdings of the burgesses, and the common property of the burgh—assigned to the community a heritable right to the Crown rents and issues within the burgh, for payment into Exchequer of a fixed annual sum. Under this arrangement the burgh was granted to the community in *feu farm*, and the burghal officers were invested with the right to recover the rents and issues, which had been previously paid to the Crown. Thus Edinburgh received its feu-farm charter from Robert I. in 1329, Dundee its feu-farm charter from David II. in 1359, Stirling its feu-farm charter from Robert II. in 1386. When this arrangement was extended to the burghs generally, the relations which had previously existed between them and the Great Chamberlain as an officer of the Crown became less important financially, and his supervision seems to have been gradually discontinued.

In the reign of James I. (1406-1437) the functions of the Lord Chamberlain were to some extent superseded by those of the High Treasurer—though the control of the former

The Municipal Institutions of Scotland 279

over matters of general burghal administration remained. It seems, however, not to have been vigorously exercised, and in 1491 an act was passed requiring the 'common good' of burghs to be applied strictly for the benefit of the burghs, and to be spent in their common and necessary things, by the advice of the council and deacons of crafts where such existed. At the same time the manner in which the common good was expended had to be reported annually to the Chamberlain's Eyre, and leases for a longer period than three years were prohibited. Till 1503 permanent alienations of burghal property were not referred to, but in that year, tenures in feu-farm were authorised to be substituted for short leases, as regarded the property not only of the Crown, but of lords, barons, and free holders spiritual and temporal. And though the act did not apply to royal burghs, the authority which it conferred on those to whom it did apply was speedily extended to those burghs by special licenses from the Crown. So the mischievous practice obtained for burghs to convert their common property into heritable estates to be held in feu-farm, on terms which, in later times, have become illusory. This process was accelerated by the admission into town councils of persons who did not possess the original conditions of burghship, and were neither resident nor concerned in trade. To prevent this misappropriation of burghal property an act was passed in 1535, requiring the magistrates annually to lodge accounts of the common good in Exchequer, to be audited by the Lords auditors, who were appointed to hear all persons who impugned the accounts. But this salutary legislation seems to have fallen into desuetude. During the minority of James VI. and the early years of his reign, the practice of plundering the burghs under the sanction of commissions to favoured individuals was adopted. In 1593, however, an act of parliament prohibited the practice; but this statute also seems to have proved ineffectual, and under a system of favouritism on the part of magistrates and councils the process of spoliation went on. Not only so, but the Convention of Burghs, in the exercise of what appears to have been unauthorised authority,¹ sanctioned alienations of burghal property, in the form both of long leases and feu grants. The extent to which the process

¹ This was so found in 1820 by the Select Committee of Parliament on Petitions from the Royal Burghs. See *Report*, p. 13.

280 The Municipal Institutions of Scotland

had gone towards the close of the seventeenth century excited alarm, in so far especially as it pointed to the rapid approach of general burghal insolvency, and in 1682 and 1684 public enquiry was ordered into the financial conditions of the burghs. The terms of the commission issued in the latter of these years indicates a condition of corruption and maladministration of the most deplorable kind. The King—Charles II.—died, however, about six months after the commission was issued, and nothing followed upon it. After the Revolution of 1688, the condition of the royal burghs led to farther applications being made to the Convention of Burghs to authorise the sale of lands forming part of the common good of burghs, and this was usually granted. Among the applicants for such authority was Glasgow, and its story of decay and poverty is remarkable, but seems to have had a powerful effect in inducing the Convention to order an enquiry into the financial condition of *all* the royal burghs. The results of that enquiry are recorded in the books of the Convention, and were published in 1881 in a volume of the Burgh Records Series. Probably the results of that enquiry had something to do with the act passed by parliament in 1693 ‘anent the common good of royal burghs.’ That act authorised extraordinary commissioners to make the necessary enquiries, and a commission was issued in 1694; but nothing seems to have resulted from it, and no supervision of the financial administration of these burghs seems to have taken place on the part of the officers of Exchequer beyond seeing that the quit rent payable by each burgh annually was duly rendered. The authority given in 1535 to burgesses interested to challenge the accounts of burghs was held, in 1683, by the Court of Exchequer, to mean little more than a right in such persons to inspect the accounts, and this decision was practically confirmed by the Court of Session in 1748. Subsequently, in 1820, it was held by that court that burgesses had no title to complain of acts of mismanagement on the part of magistrates which do not affect the private and patrimonial rights of the complainers. This decision practically necessitated legislation to regulate the administration of the common good of burghs, and to create a tribunal to enforce it, and in 1822 the act, well known as ‘Sir William Rae’s Act,’ was passed to effect that object. It applied to all royal burghs, both in their strictly municipal character and as trustees of public charities. But even that act left the administration of the

The Municipal Institutions of Scotland 281

common good of burghs very much to town councils,¹ some of whom are not, in Scotland, subject to such a system of financial and general supervision as applies to the boroughs of England.² The powers of the English Local Government Board to check illegal administration by these boroughs are far-reaching and salutary.

It is impossible to refer here to the many departments of municipal enterprise, or to the details of the burghal code which regulated the relations of burgesses to each other; which secured monopolies to burgesses as a class; and which determined the succession to property.

Allusion has been made to the original constitution of burghs, and the rights of burgesses to select those who were to administer its affairs, to the gradual assumption by the mercantile class of the substantial powers of municipal administration, and to the struggles and ultimate success of the craftsmen to share in

¹ Sir William Rae's Act has, however, been repealed by the Town Councils (Scotland) Act, 1900 (63 and 64 Victoria, c. 49), which requires a yearly account of all property heritable and moveable vested in the town council, and of all rates and assessments levied, and of all money received and expended by or on account of the council, to be submitted for audit to an auditor to be annually appointed by the Secretary for Scotland. This auditor is appointed to audit the account, making a special report thereon in any case where it appears to him expedient so to do, and the account with the report must be submitted to the council. Every person assessed, and every elector, is entitled to examine the account and report, without payment of any fee or reward, and a copy of the account, or an abstract of it, with the report must be forthwith transmitted to the Secretary for Scotland, and also delivered to such person or elector on demand. Any ratepayer or elector dissatisfied with the account, or any item thereof, may, within three months after the meeting of council, complain to the sheriff, whose decision is subject to appeal as in ordinary actions. Any of the burghs of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee, and Greenock, however, may, by a resolution passed prior to 9th August, 1901, declare that any sections or subsections of the act relating *inter alia* to accounts and corporate property and other specified subjects shall not be applicable to such burgh, and that, in lieu thereof, the sections or subsections of the act or acts applying to such burgh, repealed by the act of 1900 and specified in the resolution, shall, notwithstanding such repeal, remain in force or revive within the burgh. Such resolution is thereupon appointed to be transmitted to the Secretary for Scotland and published in the *Edinburgh Gazette*,—after which it has effect as if enacted in the statute.

² The Local Authorities (Scotland) Act, 1891 (54 and 55 Victoria, c. 37, s. 4 (3)), empowered any burgh in which there is a common good to apply to the Secretary for Scotland to determine, after due enquiry, the amount which the town council may borrow on the security of such common good, having regard to its value and all other circumstances affecting it.

282 The Municipal Institutions of Scotland

that administration. But in process of time a desire manifested itself on the part of a large number of inhabitants of towns to obtain a greater share in what may be termed local government, and numerous petitions were transmitted to parliament by the royal burghs themselves, towards the close of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth century, praying to have such enquiries made as would lead to an improved system of burghal administration. In consequence of these petitions, and the general dissatisfaction which prevailed, the House of Commons in 1793 appointed a committee of enquiry which made a full report. In 1818 again, the royal burghs petitioned parliament to be relieved of the expense of erecting proper jails, and these petitions were referred to a committee of the Commons, which reported to the House in that year. In the following year, a select committee of the same house reported on petitions which had been presented during the then, and two previous, sessions, and also on the report of 1793. That report, with its appendix—extending over 549 folio pages—summarised the several grounds of complaint as to the system of burghal administration then prevalent, and was submitted to parliament in the same year. Subsequent reports were made in 1820 and 1821—the latter offering a variety of suggestions with a view to improved administration. In 1823 and 1825 further documents were submitted to parliament relative to the royal burghs. A mass of information was thus collected which prepared the country for municipal reform. A first step in this direction was made in 1832, when, on 17th July, the Representation of the People (Scotland) Act was passed to remedy the inconveniences and abuses which previously prevailed in the election of members to serve in parliament. This was followed, on 14th August, 1833, by an act to enable royal burghs and burghs of regality and barony to establish a general system of police; and on 28th August two acts were passed, one to amend the laws for the election of the magistrates and councils of royal burghs (3 and 4 William IV., c. 76), and the other to provide for the appointment and election of magistrates and councillors for the several burghs and towns which, by the Representation of the People (Scotland) Act, were empowered to return or contribute to return members to parliament, and were not royal burghs (3 and 4 William IV., c. 77).¹

¹ Both of these acts were repealed, but were substantially re-enacted, by the Town Councils (Scotland) Act, 1900 (63 and 64 Victoria, c. 49).

The Municipal Institutions of Scotland 283

By the former of these acts, the right of electing the town councillors of each royal burgh was vested in all persons—owners and occupiers—who were entitled to elect the member for parliament for such burgh; and where any burgh did not return a member to parliament, in such owners and occupiers as were enrolled in a list or roll made up in terms of the statute. It provided for the election of councillors, who were to retire triennially, and of magistrates and other office-bearers, and it declared that only burgesses should be councillors.¹ It abolished, save in specified cases, the offices and titles of deacon and convener and dean of guild, and of old provost and old bailie as official and constituent members of town councils, but reserved the rights of crafts, trades, and guildries to elect their own officers; and it provided for the annual making up of a State of the affairs of each burgh. The system thus introduced, improved and amended by subsequent legislation, still obtains, though on 15th July, 1833—a month previous to the Municipal Elections Act becoming law—a royal commission was issued to enquire as to the state of municipal corporations then existing in Scotland, and these commissioners issued General and Particular Reports in which they recommended various changes to be made, to some of which, however, effect has not yet been given.

BURGHs OF BARONY AND REGALITY.

Analogous in many respects to Royal burghs, but of a subordinate class, numerous burghs came into existence at a very early period within the territories of secular and ecclesiastical lords and great land owners, and, according to the nature and

¹ In 1860 an act was passed (23 and 24 Vic. c. 47) entitling every person elected a councillor to become a Burgess to the effect of complying with this requirement of the Burgh Reform Act, on payment of a sum to be fixed by the council not exceeding twenty shillings. But such admission did not carry with it the full privileges which attach to Burgess-ship acquired in the ordinary way, and persons elected councillors were almost invariably indisposed to take advantage of that act. In 1876 another act was passed (39 and 40 Vic. c. 12) relative to the admission of Burgesses. Its object was to give to ratepayers of burghs, in which institutions existed for behoof of decayed Burgesses and their children, the means of acquiring benefit from such charitable institutions, and it is to be regretted that some better devised means of attaining that object was not adopted. Both acts were repealed in 1900, but have been substantially re-enacted by the Town Councils (Scotland) Act, 1900 (63 and 64 Vic. c. 49).

284 The Municipal Institutions of Scotland

extent of the jurisdiction with which they were invested, these burghs were known as 'burghs of barony' or 'burghs of regality'—the former being erected within the lands of a barony, and the latter within the lands of a regality. Such burghs are referred to in the Laws of the Four Burghs, which provide that the burghess of a King's burgh might have battle of the burgesses of Abbots, Priors, Earls, and Barons, 'but not the converse.'

Burghs of this class were sometimes erected directly by the Sovereign, who, in the charter of erection, set forth their constitution, and the nature of the jurisdiction to be exercised by the magistrates and community. Sometimes the authority to erect was delegated by the Crown to the lords, ecclesiastical or secular, on whose territory the burgh was authorised to be formed; and the charters granted by the superior thus authorised specified the conditions under which the burgh was to be governed, by magistrates appointed either by the superior or by the inhabitant burgesses. But in all cases burghs of this class were held of a subject superior.

Of such burghs—and these among the most important and most ancient—were burghs, some of barony and some of regality, held of ecclesiastical superiors—St. Andrews, the seat of the Primate of Scotland, Glasgow, the seat of a bishop, and afterwards of an Archbishop, and many others the seats of ecclesiastical dignitaries of lower rank, including Old Aberdeen, Brechin, Arbroath, Fortrose, Dunfermline, Paisley, Spynie, and Queensferry. But the great ecclesiastical change effected by the Reformation altered the position of these church burghs, and in 1587 an act was passed for annexing the temporalities of benefices to the Crown. That act set forth that

'Forsameikle as there is divers burrowis in regalitie and barronie, within this realme, quhilkis were before haldin immediately of the saidis prelatiis, and have been in use to exerce the trade and traffique of merchandise, to mak burgesses, and to elect provestis, baillies, and utheris officiaris meete and necessar for the government of their communities, our said Sovereign Lord and his three estates in Parliament, nawayes willing that they sall be hurt therein, declaris, decernis, and ordainis, that they sall remain in the samin freedome and libertie quhilk they had before the said annexation, to be haldin alwayes of our said Sovereign Lord, in the samin manner and condition be the quhilk thai held thair saidis liberties of the saidis ecclesiastical personis befor, and nawyse hurt in thair rightis and priviledgis, and that the ane sort and the uther be not confoundit be this present act, but remane alwayes distinct, as thay wer in tyme by past, notwithstanding the said annexation, it is alwayes provided, statute, and ordained, that the provest,

The Municipal Institutions of Scotland 285

baillies, counsell, and utheris officieris, within the saidis burrowis, in regalitie and baronie, quhair thair were provest and baillies of before, sall be yeirly elected, chosen, deposit, and alterit, according to the forme and tenour of the acts of parliament maid in the daies of our Sovereign Lordis maist noble predecessouris, and ratified in divers Parliamentis sen his Hieness Coronatioun.'

The Crown was thus substituted for the old ecclesiastical superiors, and many of the church burghs were afterwards raised to the rank of royal burghs. Among the burghs so elevated were St. Andrews, Glasgow, Dunfermline, Brechin, and Arbroath.

The burghs of barony and regality which were held of lay superiors, or invested by charter with the practical power of self-government on prescribed lines, were numerous. Among those were Abernethy held under the Earls of Angus, and later under Lord Douglas; Alloa held under the Earl of Mar; Bathgate held of Thomas Hamilton; Dalkeith successively of the families of Keith, Morton, and Buccleuch; Dunblane of Lord Kinnoul; Dunkeld of the Duke of Atholl; Duns of Hume of Aytoun, and afterwards of Cockburn of Cockburn; Eyemouth of Hume of Wedderburn; Faithlie, or Fraserburgh, of Fraser of Philorth; Galashiels of Pringle of Torwoodlee and others; Girvan first of Muir of Thornton, afterwards of Hamilton of Bargany; Hawick of Douglas of Drumlanrig; Huntly of the Duke of Gordon; Kelso of the Duke of Roxburgh; Kilmaurs of the Earl of Glencairn; Kirkintilloch of the family of Fleming (Earl of Wigtown); Langholm of the Duke of Buccleuch; Maybole of the Earl of Cassilis; Melrose successively of the Earl of Haddington, the Earl of Melrose and the Duke of Buccleuch; Portsoy of the Earl of Seafield; Roseheart of Lord Forbes of Pitsligo; Stonehaven first of the Earl Marischall, afterwards of Lord Keith; Stornoway of Mr. Stewart Mackenzie; Strathaven of the Duke of Hamilton; and Thurso of the heirs of John Morton of Berrydale.

These and such other burghs of barony and regality, holding of subject superiors, as were erected prior to 1746-7, were dealt with in that year by the act abolishing Heritable Jurisdictions (20 George II., c. 43) which drew a distinction between burghs in which the magistrates were appointed by the superior, and those which had constitutions independent of the lord of barony or regality. The jurisdiction of the former was practically abolished, while that of the latter was reserved, but the

286 The Municipal Institutions of Scotland

jurisdiction of the superior was declared to be cumulative with that of the magistrates.

Since 1746-7 several burghs of barony have been constituted. Among those are Castle Douglas, Gatehouse of Fleet, Kilsyth, Laurencekirk, and Lerwick.

Originally, the burgesses of burghs of barony and regality possessed privileges of trade and manufacture within the bounds of their respective burghs only. These privileges were subsequently extended by an act in 1672, which empowered such burghs to export goods of their own manufacture. But in 1681 this extension was limited to the effect that the goods referred to in the act of 1672 might be sold for the use of the inhabitants of regality and barony only. In 1690, the inhabitants of these burghs were empowered to trade freely in native commodities, and in foreign commodities purchased from freemen of royal burghs. Three years later, viz. in 1693, parliament sanctioned an arrangement for communication of the rights of trade by royal burghs to burghs of regality and barony, on the latter consenting to pay a share of the taxation imposed on the royal burghs. In 1698, the inhabitants of burghs of barony and regality were empowered to trade in native and foreign commodities, if they bought the foreign commodities from freemen who paid scot and lot within a royal burgh. And between 1699 and 1701 a commission of parliament settled the terms on which there was to be communication of trade between royal burghs and burghs of regality and barony. But all exclusive privileges of trade were abolished in 1846, by the statute 9 and 10 Victoria, chapter 17.

In their respective constitutions, burghs of barony and regality presented numerous varieties. Some, by the charters of erection or by subsequent charters, had a modified right to elect their magistrates conferred on their burgesses or feuars, subject to the approval of their superiors. In some, unqualified dependence on the superior existed, and the magistrates were appointed by him. Others enjoyed an elective constitution, differing in the qualification of the electors—such qualification being in some cases restricted to resident burgess-ship, in others to resident proprietorship, within the burgh, and in others to the ownership or occupancy of houses of the value of £10 and upwards. One of the beneficial effects of the Burgh Police (Scotland) Act, 1892 (55 and 56 Vic., c. 55), amending the general Police Act of 1850, was to simplify the election of the governing

The Municipal Institutions of Scotland 287

bodies of many of these burghs, several of whom possessed and exercised the right, under their charters, to erect incorporations of craftsmen within their respective bounds, similar to that enjoyed by royal burghs. When such a power was conferred on burghs of this class, it was exercised by the magistrates and council with the consent usually of the superior or lord of the burgh, or by the superior himself, in accordance with the provisions of the charter of erection. The document constituting such subordinate craft incorporations was usually designated, as in royal burghs, a 'Seal of cause,' and set forth the objects of the incorporation, and the particular privileges conferred upon it, including usually a right to hold property; to enact bye-laws for the government of the craft, subject to confirmation by the magistrates, or by the magistrates and superior, or by the superior himself, as the case might be; and a course of succession. They also not infrequently granted a monopoly of trade and manufacture within the burgh to the craft so constituted. The jurisdiction conferred on the burgh was usually cumulative with that of the superior, for, as Erskine observes, 'the territory granted to the body corporate continues as truly a parcel of the barony as if it were the property of a single vassal, differing only in this, that the jurisdiction is in the first case exercised by a community, and in the other by one person.'

PARLIAMENTARY BURGHS.

Reference has been made to the act of 1832, passed to amend the Representation of the People in Scotland, and to the foundation which it laid for amending the constitution of royal burghs. It did more than this, however. It provided for the cities, burghs, and towns of the country being represented by twenty-three members, in the proportion therein specified. Of these fourteen were allocated to groups of burghs and towns,—some of which were royal burghs, and some burghs of barony and regality. It assigned to each of the burghs entitled to representation distinct, and in most cases extended, boundaries, so as not only to include the suburban populations which had grown up around the more prosperous burghs, but also outside areas to meet increase of population; and it enacted that the parliamentary representatives of burghs should no longer be elected by the town council, but directly by the parliamentary electors created in virtue of the act. Among the burghs thus entitled

288 The Municipal Institutions of Scotland

to elect members to parliament were several burghs of barony and regality, and some towns which were not burghs of either class, but whose population and importance led to their having parliamentary representation conferred on them. All the burghs to which such representation was given came thus to be known as 'parliamentary burghs,' and the act 3 and 4 William IV. cap. 77, passed on 28th August, 1833, provided a constitution for them similar in many respects to that which the act 3 and 4 William IV. cap. 76 provided, with reference to most of the royal burghs. Parliamentary burghs were empowered to have councils, elected by the parliamentary electors—the number being either specified in the act, or fixed by commissioners appointed by the Crown, and these councillors were empowered to choose a specified number of magistrates and office-bearers. In burghs in which there were burgesses no one could be inducted into office as a councillor without producing evidence of his being a burgess; the right of crafts, trades, and guilds, where such existed, to elect their own officers, was reserved; the magistrates and councillors were declared to have powers and jurisdiction similar to those possessed by royal burghs; and states of the affairs of each burgh were appointed to be annually published.

This act, like that relating to royal burghs, was subsequently amended by various statutes, public and local, culminating in the Town Councils (Scotland) Act, 1890, but to these it is not necessary to refer here.

POLICE BURGHS.

In 1850 the desirability of enabling 'populous places' to obtain the benefit, by general statute, of legislation enabling the inhabitants to pave, drain, cleanse, light, and improve these places was recognised and provided for by the Police and Improvement (Scotland) Act (13 and 14 Victoria, c. 33). Defining 'populous place' to mean any town, village, place, or locality—not being a royal burgh, a burgh of regality or barony, or a parliamentary burgh—containing a population of twelve hundred inhabitants or upwards, it provided for the fixing of the boundaries of these places, the qualifications of the persons who should be entitled to vote in the determination of the question as to whether the provisions of the act should or should not be adopted, and the holding of a meeting of the voters to determine that question.

The Municipal Institutions of Scotland 289

It also provided for the election of commissioners and magistrates of police to carry the act into effect if adopted, and prescribed the manner in which this was to be done. Various populous places took advantage of this act which, however, was repealed by the General Police and Improvement Act, 1862 (25 and 26 Victoria, c. 101), except only as regarded any burgh in which its provisions had been adopted or incorporated, in whole or in part, with any local or special act relating to such burgh—the word 'burgh' being declared to include 'populous places.' The act of 1862 contained provisions as to its adoption in burghs which in the act of 1850 were styled 'populous places,' and it consisted of 449 clauses embodying provisions as to lighting, cleansing, paving, draining, supplying water, effecting improvements, and promoting public health. It, again, was amended in several particulars by the General Police and Improvement (Scotland) Act, 1862, Amendment Act, 1868 (31 and 32 Victoria, c. 102), by the General Police and Improvement (Scotland) Amendment Act, 1877 (40 and 41 Victoria, c. 22), by the General Police and Improvement (Scotland) Amendment Act, 1878 (41 and 42 Victoria, c. 30), by the General Police and Improvement (Scotland) Act, 1882 (45 and 46 Victoria, c. 6), and by the General Police and Improvement Act, 1862, Amendment Act, 1889 (52 and 53 Victoria, c. 51). So matters remained till 1892 when the Burgh Police (Scotland) Act of that year was passed and came into operation on 15th May, 1893. It applied to every burgh which then existed—save Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee, and Greenock—and to every burgh which might thereafter be erected under it, but might be adopted in whole or in part by any of the excepted burghs. It superseded and repealed under specific exceptions as regarded twenty-three burghs all general or local police acts, and especially the police act above referred to, save in so far as they are incorporated by reference in portions of police acts not thereby repealed. Subject to these exceptions the act of 1892, consisting of 518 clauses, forms a comprehensive code of police and sanitary legislation for the Burghs of Scotland.

ALL CLASSES OF BURGHS.

On 8th August, 1900, the Town Councils (Scotland) Act, 1890 (63 and 64 Victoria, c. 49), was passed to consolidate and amend the law relating to the election and proceedings of town

290 The Municipal Institutions of Scotland

councils of burghs in Scotland, and it defined 'burghs' as including royal burghs, parliamentary burghs, burghs incorporated by act of parliament, police burghs, and any other burgh within the meaning of the Burgh Police (Scotland) Act, 1892. It declared, however, that nothing which it contained should supersede, prejudice, or affect the provisions of any local act applicable to any burgh, or the forms of prosecution and procedure in use therein under such act.¹

JAMES D. MARWICK.

¹ With reference to the last paragraph on p. 126 the writer is reminded that since Edinburgh and Glasgow made the appointments referred to in the text, Dumfries has elected a lady an Honorary Burgess. The practice thus introduced affords burghs a befitting means of doing honour to ladies whose position or public services make such recognition appropriate.

Eighteenth Century Estimates of Shakespeare¹

THIS volume contains, together with an Introduction and Notes, reprints of nine essays which illustrate various aspects of Shakespearian Criticism in the eighteenth century. The earliest is Rowe's *Account of Shakespeare's Life* (1709), which was the first attempt at a biography of the poet; the next is Dennis's essay on the 'Genius and Writings of Shakespeare' (1711). This is followed by the Prefaces to the editions of Pope (1725), Theobald (1733), Hanmer (1744), Warburton (1747), and Johnson (1765). The eighth piece is Farmer's 'Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare' (1767), and the last Morgann's 'Essay on the Dramatic Character of Sir John Falstaff' (1777).

Mr. Nichol Smith's book, which is handsomely printed in a very pleasant type, will be a boon to all students of Shakespeare, whatever the size of their Shakespearian libraries may be. Those who are familiar with the essays, and perhaps possess reprints of some of them in the first volume of the *Variorum*, will not be the least grateful of Mr. Smith's readers, for they will know best how to value the knowledge, thoroughness, and impartiality of his editorial work. They will welcome, too, the original text of Rowe's *Life*, which has never been reprinted till now since Pope injured it by his silent excisions and rearrangements. And for the general reader the volume should be full of novelty, entertainment, and instruction. Indeed, if it contained nothing but Morgann's Essay, which was last issued in 1825, and is not very easy to procure, he ought to give it a warm welcome, for there is no better piece of Shakespearian criticism in the world.

In framing his book the Editor has had an object to which I have as yet made no reference, and which is best explained

¹ *Eighteenth Century Essays on Shakespeare*, edited by D. Nichol Smith, M.A.; demy 8vo., pp. lxiii. 358, Glasgow: MacLehose, 1903. 7s. 6d. net.

in his own words. 'The purpose of this book,' he writes, 'is to give an account of Shakespeare's reputation during the eighteenth century, and to suggest that there are grounds for reconsidering the common opinion that the century did not give him his due. The nine Essays or Prefaces here reprinted may claim to represent the chief phases of Shakespearian study from the days of Dryden to those of Coleridge. It is one of the evils following in the train of the romantic revival that the judgments of the older school have been discredited or forgotten. The present volume shows that the eighteenth century knew many things which the nineteenth has rediscovered for itself.' In pursuance of this idea, Mr. Nichol Smith shows in his Introduction the delusiveness of the notion that Shakespeare was ever out of favour in the eighteenth century, and traces very clearly and skilfully the progress of criticism during that century in four main phases which roughly follow a chronological order. 'The first deals with his neglect of the so-called rules of the drama; the second determines what was the extent of his learning; the third considers the treatment of his text; and the fourth, more purely aesthetic, shows his value as a delineator of character.'

It was, of course, inevitable that the critics of the nineteenth century should do some injustice to those of the eighteenth. Like the rest of mankind they troubled themselves little with gratitude to the predecessors who had made their work easy. It was also unfortunately impossible for them to continue the building without removing parts of the foundation which were quite incapable of bearing its weight, not to speak of bricks and mortar which were manifestly bad. And a builder who has to perform such operations on a memorial structure is likely to be impatient, and in his haste may even accuse his forerunners of impiety towards the person in whose honour they built. But in this matter the Editor's four phases should be considered separately, and I will begin with the third.

Here there can be no question of the great services of the critics of the eighteenth century. I will not speak of their demerits, but, taken collectively, they did invaluable work in purifying and refashioning the text, in explaining obscurities due to Shakespeare's indifference to grammar and to clearness of construction, and, later, in illustrating him by reference to the contemporary literature. Johnson, in particular, can never be praised too highly for his determination in grappling with difficult passages,

and for the penetrating good sense which often led him straight to a solution. The history of the advance of criticism on these lines must always be interesting to retrace; and the general course of this history, together with some of the passions which accompanied it, appears clearly in the five Prefaces reprinted in Mr. Smith's volume. On the other hand, it can hardly be said, I think, that at this point the eighteenth century has met with much injustice; and this is one reason why I feel some doubt whether the pages occupied by Theobald, Hanmer, and Warburton might not be better filled. The first of these critics, too, is seen at his weakest in general observations; and, although Warburton's two pages on Shakespeare's language are still well worth reading, there is little else of value, and much that is repulsive, in the Preface of that truculent egotist. At the same time, one would have been sorry to miss the new light which Mr. Smith has thrown on his relations with Theobald.

The discussions on Shakespeare's Learning, until we come to the second half of the century, are for the most part superficial, and betray the ignorance of Elizabethan literature which marked our Augustan Age. But Pope's distinction between Learning and Languages, and his remark that Shakespeare 'had much reading at least, if they will not call it Learning,' have not lost their importance; and Farmer's *Essay* (1767), which is not less amusing than instructive, shows an immense advance, and is far from being superseded. Like those notes of Steevens in which he merely seeks to interpret the meaning of passages without passing absurd judgments on their poetry, this essay shows that the century had come to realise how indispensable to a critic of Shakespeare is familiarity with the literature of his time. There is plenty of room for a repetition of the lesson even now. Those who find it hard to understand how a poor player who never went to college can have possessed a learning of which, they tell us, Bacon might have been proud, might read Farmer with advantage, though they would do even better to read Shakespeare and Bacon.

The lover of poetry born in the nineteenth century will follow the disputes about Shakespeare's neglect of the 'rules,' I fear, with some languor and depression of spirit; and he will certainly come with immense relief to Johnson's apologetic but trenchant attack on the unities of time and place. The Editor justly observes that here the century itself corrected its error, and that little more is heard of the 'rules' after Johnson's exposure of the

fallacy on which their authority rested. This exposure is an admirable piece of thinking and writing, though Johnson, after his manner, opposed to the fallacy a theory too broadly stated and, in parts, prosaically fallacious. It is characteristic that what leads him straight here is not imaginative perception but an eye for psychological fact, and that his view of the fact, though it enables him to knock his adversary down, is neither full enough nor sympathetic enough to open the way to a true theory.

The gradual progress of the century in aesthetic appreciation would, perhaps, be clearer, and Mr. Smith's book would also gain in interest for most readers, if some pages from Richardson, Warton, or even Mrs. Montagu, took the place of the Prefaces of Theobald, Hanmer, and Warburton. From the beginning the poets write well of Shakespeare the poet—Rowe and Pope early in the century, as well as Johnson later; and their praises of the most salient features of his genius need not fear comparison with any nineteenth century eulogy. But the change in the general level of taste is naturally better gauged by reference to less gifted writers, and it would appear strikingly from a comparison of Dennis's foolish remarks on Menenius with Richardson's conscientious efforts to understand Shakespeare's characters—none the less strikingly because in expression the later is much the duller of the two writers. There can be no doubt about this change, and it is coincident, of course, with the gradual dawn of the romantic movement, which becomes unmistakable in the last quarter of the century. Indeed, if Morgann could be taken as a fair example of that generation, we should have to say that the century, some time before it closed, had reached *in principle* the whole position in which criticism has rested from the days of Schlegel and Coleridge. With Morgann not only the superstition of the 'rules,' but the remaining superstition of Shakespeare's general want of 'art,' together with Johnson's superstition about poetic justice, have totally disappeared. With them has gone the habit of judging Shakespeare from outside, and of condemning him for things the intention of which the critic has not even tried to understand. It has given place to the use of a sympathetic imagination which follows the dramatist into the minutest details of his composition, conscious that, whether the informing spirit of his work be called 'art' or 'nature,' it carries life and meaning into every atom of its creation, and that, where it seems to us to fail, we should doubt more than once before we conclude that the error lies with

Shakespeare. Something of this spirit is quite visible in Richardson; in Morgann it is full-grown, and has for its instrument a mind not less poetical than acute. How excellent, and how astonishingly different from Johnson's paragraph on Shakespeare's quibbles (p. 125) is Morgann's brief note (p. 267) on the same subject! But Morgann would have been an exceptional critic in any age, and in his own his Essay stands almost as much alone as do the songs of Blake. It appears for long to have had scarcely any influence on criticism. Its time was not yet. Indeed its time is only now; and, if Mr. Smith's book has the success it deserves, he will have the pleasure of knowing that the best (but, I must add, the least characteristic) critic of the eighteenth century owes to him the full recognition which has been so long delayed.¹

A. C. BRADLEY.

¹ I add a few notes on matters of detail, in view of the second edition which this book ought to see. A little more information about Morgann would interest the reader. Johnson's criticism of his book might be quoted. Mr. Smith might endeavour to find out whether the second edition (1820) was sold in five years, or whether the third (1825), which has only the old preface, but calls it 'Preface to the Present Edition,' is really the remainder of the second with a new title-page. The 'very learned *French Critick*' (p. 83) asks for a note. 'See,' p. 99, line 9 from bottom, is misprinted 'fee.' Johnson's omissions of notes of interrogation after the words 'theatre' (foot of p. 128), 'intervene' (p. 129), 'sentences' (p. 156), might be made good. I do not know if he is responsible for the error of using 'their' for 'the' in the sentence beginning, 'Of all the publishers, clandestine or professed, their negligence,' etc. (p. 142): it does not appear in the Variorum reprint. To whom is Morgann alluding in the bitter sentence on p. 228 about some public man? Since Mr. Smith very rightly indicates the sources of quotations, the words 'what matter where if he be still the same,' on p. 302, need a note. On p. 308, l. 8, 'when' is a misprint for 'where.' There must surely be some failure of expression in the note to p. 52 (on p. 312), as it seems to imply that the *Hamlet* of the First Quarto is in no sense Shakespeare's. Would it not be better to print in the note the 'striking passage' (p. 315) in Theobald's original preface?

The brevity of this list of suggestions, considering the nature of the volume, is strong evidence of the thoroughness of Mr. Smith's editorial work.

Scottish Alliterative Poems

Golagros and Gawane

THE Scottish Text Society is much to be congratulated upon the fact that it has published so many important and well-edited texts. It is always a comfort to a student to find that the text which he reads has been well considered, and it is a distinct gain to literature when a literary document falls into the hands of the right man to edit it. Any one who will be at the pains to examine the Notes and Glossarial Index to the *Scottish Alliterative Poems* will easily be convinced that Mr. Amours has proved himself to have been precisely the right person to undertake the editing of these eminently difficult pieces. And his Introduction proves further that he exercises a careful and well-balanced judgment in dealing with literary questions.

I have been attracted by the helpfulness of this edition, to a reperusal of the poems; and, observing that the editor has, in more places than one, accepted my suggestions on some difficult points, I now venture, with all diffidence, to add a few more suggestions of a similar character. Of course I only give them for what they are worth; but I dare say there are many students who will be glad, at any rate, to have some of the remaining difficulties brought under their notice once more.

To begin with *Golagros and Gawane*. In l. 95, Sir Kay is told that his manners are 'unlufsum and ladlike'; and again, in l. 160, the same discourteous knight is said to have been 'ladlike' in his manners. The Glossary suggests 'loathly' as the sense of 'ladlike,' which of course makes sufficiently good sense. Nevertheless, as we find the forms *laithly*, *laithles*, and *laith* elsewhere, there seems to be no sufficient reason why *ladlike* may not mean *lad-like*, or *like a lad*; especially when we find in l. 71 the expression 'nouthir [neither] lord na lad,' showing that a *lad* was just the very opposite to a *lord*. The point may well be that Sir Kay, who ought to have behaved like a lord, has behaved no better than a lad. It should be noted that the same explanation of *ladlike* is adopted in the

New English Dictionary; but I may be allowed to observe that it had occurred to me independently.

Stanza 18 ends in the following fashion :

‘ Thus iournait gentilly thyr cheualrouse knichtis
Ithandly ilk day
Throu mony fer contray,
Our the mountains g[r]ay,
Holtis and hillis.’

The editor regards the first of these lines as corrupt, as ‘the rime is wrong and the alliteration is weak.’ Perhaps so; but the easiest way out of the difficulty is to alter *hillis* into *hichtis*, i.e. heights. Towards the end of stanza 20 we have the line—‘Gif thair be ony keyne knycht that can tell it’—which has to rhyme with—‘Fayne wald I wit.’ This is obviously impossible, as the stress here falls upon *tell*, and it can receive no stress at all. I much suspect that for *it* we should read *tit*, i.e. ‘quickly,’ as in l. 756, and we can somewhat diminish the stress upon *tell* by omitting the word *that*, which can readily be understood. The resulting line is not very commendable; still it gives a real rhyme, with a little forcing of the stress, as in other places. I would therefore conjecture to read—‘Gif thair be ony keyne knycht can tell tit.’ Perhaps a still better plan is to omit *tell*, and to take *can* with the sense of ‘knows.’ Then *knycht that can tit* means ‘knight who readily knows.’

In stanza 22, the first line is: ‘A! lord, sparis of sic speche, quhill ye speir more.’ But it has to rhyme with *deir* and *feir*; so that the last word is *speir*. This is why the editor suggests to read *quhill more ye speir*. But though this amends the rhyme it ruins the position of the stresses. The right reading is clearly, I think, *more quhill ye speir*, with the stresses in the right place. And this explains how the corruption arose. For when the scribe came to this slightly inverted phrase, with *more* at the beginning instead of at the end; he ‘corrected’ it by giving it the true logical order, forgetting that it upset his rhymes. Hence, as the editor so well shows, he had further to alter *steir* into *schore* in the next line but one. This is a small point, but it well illustrates the nature of the mistakes into which the copyists most easily fell.

Line 291 is wanting. The sense can be supplied by reading—‘Quhill ye have frely fangit his frendship to fest.’ I have not invented this line; it is purloined from l. 421 below. It is curious that it just gives what one wants. Similarly, line 332 is missing; but it can be neatly supplied from l. 357, in which, by the way, the word *fyne* is superfluous and injurious to the rhythm and should be deleted. *Favour* is, of course, accented on *our*.

In the note to l. 339, we are told that *that thre* means ‘those three’; and two more such examples are given from another poem. It is suggested that the contraction for *that* has been miswritten for the contraction for *the*. This is very nearly right, but the true explanation is, I think, as follows. The Northumbrian for ‘those three’ is *thir thre*; and *thir* was also denoted by a contraction. *Thir* was not so well known as *that*, and so a poor attempt was here made to translate it, though in at least four

other places it has been allowed to stand. We should therefore read—
'thai ordanit thir three.'

Perhaps I may be allowed to illustrate the point by a personal anecdote. I was once travelling down Glen Shee in a carriage with a perfect stranger, when the driver made reference to 'thir horses.' The gentleman good-humouredly turned upon me at once, saying—'I suppose you never heard of such a word as *thir* before, in all your life!' This was a little more than I thought I might fairly be expected to stand, so I retorted by saying—'O yes! I have; for I've edited Barbour's *Bruce*!' which led to a most agreeable and delightful conversation.

Please kindly to take notice that *thir* is the right word in l. 471, in spite of the MS. reading *thair*. Mr. Amours notes the same error in l. 202.

In l. 1045 we come to a more important point, viz. what is the meaning of the extraordinary phrase 'to set upon seven'? As I have a theory of my own upon the point, I should like to ventilate it.

My own belief is that there are *two* such phrases; or rather, that it was used in two totally different senses, with reference to quite different topics. It varies with the subject. If the subject is the Creator, then *to set* means 'to ordain'; but if the subject is the gambler or the desperate man, then *to set* means 'to stake.' And the sense of *seven* varies at the same time.

An example of the former occurs in the line cited, viz. l. 1045. 'I swere be suthfast God, that settis all on sevin!' So also (as the note says) in *Susan* l. 264, and in the *Townely Mysteries*, pp. 97, 118. Mr. Amours says—'that sets, ordains all in seven days'; with reference to the Creation. I confess I have my doubts as to this; first, because it is usual to assign to the Creation six days only; and secondly, because the use of the present tense is not, in this case, very happy. I think it means—'He who ordains all the planets in their seven spheres'; with reference to the then universal belief in astrology and the influence of the seven planets upon almost every incident of life. For in this case, the use of the present tense is natural enough. I cannot prove this point; I only suggest it.

But I am more sure of my second point, viz. that 'to set upon seven' often meant 'to stake upon seven' as being a good throw at dice in the game of hazard; as I have tried to show in a note to Chaucer, *Cant. Tales*, B 124.

The phrase occurs in Chaucer's *Troilus*, IV. 622, in a way that cannot be mistaken:

'Lat not this wreeched wo thin herte gnawe,
' But manly set the world on sixe and sevene.'

This is why the secondary sense of 'to set upon seven' is simply to take all hazards or to run all risks; and this is how I would interpret the expression in *Golagros*, 508, 668; in *Morte Arthure*, 2131; and in *Sir Degrevant*, l. 1279. *Set*, to stake, occurs seven times in Shakespeare. See also Lydgate's ballad called *Beware of Doublesse*, l. 77; and *La Belle Dame sans Mercy*, l. 524; both in Chaucerian Pieces. I would even go as far as to suggest that the common phrase 'to be at sixes and sevens' arose from a phrase at gaming; the house that is in this desperate

condition is a place where it is mere luck if you find what you want; since everything is left 'at haphazard.'

Line 551 is missing; we want something like—'Lightly lap he on loft, and laught a lang speir.' Cf. l. 614.

The name of *Galiot*, at l. 557, was said by Sir F. Madden to have been invented by the writer. But *Galiot* occurs in *Lancelot of the Laik* (E.E.T.S.), l. 551, and often.

In l. 702 occurs the unknown word *hatterit*. The right word is obviously *hakkit*, as in l. 980. It was usual to write what looked like *lk* for *kk*; and a word that looked like *halhit* might easily have been turned into *hatterit*, by reading the *l* and the down-stroke of the *k* as *tt*, and interpreting the rest of the *k* as a contraction for *er*. We may confidently pronounce *hatterit* to be a mere ghost-word.

In l. 721, for *that* read *was*; it then means—'None was so proud of his part, (that he) was praised when he went away.' And in l. 725 read *leid*, the present tense, for the sake of the rhyme; instead of *led*, in the past.

Line 769 is curious: 'Than schir Golograse for grief his gray ene brynt.' Here *Golograse his* is a 'split' genitive case.

The mysterious word *bratheris* in l. 994, rightly explained as 'bracers' or armour for the arm, is due to that confusion between *t* and *c* of which Middle English MSS. exhibit so many instances. It is rightly spelt *bracher* in Levins, and should be altered to *bracheris* here. There is no such word as *bratheris*; but *bracher*, as a variant of *bracer*, is duly noted in the *New English Dictionary*.

WALTER W. SKEAT.

The Story of Conal Grund¹

HE was of noble descent and heir to an estate; but ill feeling and oppression had sprung up against himself and the family he belonged to, and they were driven from the place. He betook himself to the shore, where he built a hut for himself, and he lived there on whatever he could pick up from the sea or on shore.

It is said that in these days men were scarcer in those parts of the world than their food; that they would rather see sons than anything else they could wish for themselves; and that ships would be coming from distant regions for an opportunity of taking men away with them. At any rate, one day a ship came to the shore where he was, and he went away with it in expectation of meeting with his fortune, and when he returned wealthy he would get his rights restored to him. When they had sailed three days, a great storm arose, and they were in danger of being drowned. They thought it was some one among them who had done harm, and that they should cast lots. The lot fell three times on Conal Grund. There was nothing for it then but to throw him into the sea, let him sink or swim.

What happened to him was, that before he reached the bottom of the sea a whale swallowed him up. He was then inside of it, and both of them traversing the ocean, until at last when he was tired of trying every plan he could think of to get outside, he remembered his little jagged knife that

¹[This story was written down in Gaelic by the late Rev. J. Gregorson Campbell, of Tiree, who has done much to preserve a record of the Tales of the Western Highlands. Mr. Campbell translated it also into English, and intended that it should form the first of a volume of such Tales. Writing in 1889, two years before his death, he says: 'The occurrence of the whale in the western islands seems to have been quite common at one time, and there is a story of one having come ashore in the island of Tiree, of such dimensions that sixteen steps of a ladder were required to reach its top, *sia ceumannan deug faraidh*. In 1887, one came ashore in the same island, that was above 80 ft. in length.']

frequently had relieved him. Taking it out, he began to rip the walls that were about him with it. This made the whale go on, and it never stopped till it went ashore in Ireland. When the people saw it coming they gathered to the shore to tear it asunder. When they were nearly at him he cried out, 'Don't kill me.' Whenever they heard the voice, they ran away with terror; but coming to their senses, the most courageous amongst them returned to see what it was. He gave another loud cry to take him out from where he was. The one who came back asked who he was. 'It is I,' he said, 'you are long enough standing there looking on, you had better try to help me,'—and he asked him to take him out, as none of them had the sense to do it themselves. The one who had returned waved his hands to the others, to show that it was an earthly being. When they understood that it was, this is what they said: 'Woeful is his plight. It is a pity for any one to be in his place.' They then attacked the whale, and in an instant it was in pieces, and he was out.

He got food and clothing; and he then went for a walk round about, but had not gone any great distance when he saw a handsome woman at the mouth of a river, washing clothes and weeping. He asked those who were with him who she was, and what was the meaning of her mourning like that. 'It is easy to see,' they said, 'that you are a stranger in the place, when you do not know what has happened, and what cause she has. That's the wife of Archibald the Haughty washing her husband's clothing, as he is now dead.' He then asked what sort of a man Archibald the Haughty was. They said he was a man who had plenty of the world and took plenty of the world with him. When he heard this he stepped up where she was, and asked her why she wept. She said it was easy to see he was a stranger when he was ignorant of what took place and the occasion she had for weeping. 'I am weeping for Archibald the Haughty.' 'Alas! and my utter loss weeping for Archibald the Haughty. Well acquainted with each other were Archibald the Haughty and I. That was a man of great riches when I knew him, Archibald the Haughty,' said he. 'Yes, he was,' she said. 'He took plenty with him and left abundance behind him.'

He then went with her to the house. Food was prepared and set before him. He sat at it, and when no one was looking at him he would take a great gulp of it, but when any of

them returned he would drop the food and begin to wring his hands, deploring himself. 'Alas! and my utter loss! my Archibald the Haughty dead!' When they left his presence, he would take another big gulp of meat, but as soon as they returned he would tear his hair and say, 'Alas! and my utter loss! my Archibald the Haughty dead! What a good man that was, and how well acquainted I was with him!' And when he pulled his hair the lock came away with its having been rotted when he was inside of the whale, until the people who were in the house thought he was in earnest. When he had finished, and had rested from his fatigue, they went away to see Archibald the Haughty's grave, himself and Archibald the Haughty's wife both together, and they were mourning at the gravestone. It was evening before they returned. She said to him, since he was not acquainted with any other place, that it would be better for him to remain where he was that night. He would not stay, but left good-bye with them all. When he left them behind and got out of sight, he went to the burial ground, opened the grave of Archibald the Haughty, took the lid off the coffin, and he and Archibald the Haughty began to wrestle. The one that would be uppermost now would be below next, and they were thus lifting and throwing down each other till the cock crew. At that time Archibald the Haughty was underneath, and he remained so ever after.

He (Conal) took with him as much as he could of the gold and silver, and off he set as fast as he could. He was for some days wandering and indifferent where he might go, without any object in view or thought of returning, but ever pushing on. In the dusk of the evening he saw smoke at the edge of the shore. He took the way it was. As he came near he heard weeping and lamenting, and when he reached he found it was from a cave, with a fire, at which sat a woman as handsome as eye had ever seen, with a manchild on her knee. She asked him what had brought him there to-night. He answered that what brought him there was that he did not know of any better place to go to. He then asked her what she was weeping for. She said that the child she had on her knee was to be ready boiled for the big giant who kept the cave when he came back from the hunting hill. 'You also had better be off, or he will kill you when he comes home.' He said, 'There is only but death before me and after me at any

rate, and I think I will undertake to stay where I am to-night.' She then told him that she had been stolen by the big giant. 'Perhaps we may find a way of saving your child to-night yet,' he said, catching the child and taking off the point of its little finger, telling her to put it in the giant's supper, and that he would think the child was altogether minced into it when he would see the bit of finger.

The big giant now came home. Conal Grund hid himself behind some old wickerwork that was in the cave when he heard the giant coming. That one came with a rushing sound and a stamping, and with the humming of a song in his mouth. 'You have the odour of a wayfarer with you here to-night,' he said, going down and looking hither and thither. He got a sight of Conal Grund at the back of the pieces of wickerwork, and he caught hold of him and brought him with him. The giant had a big log of oakwood full of holes, and he thrust Conal Grund's finger in one of them and put a wooden stake above it, and hung him up to the side of the cave, and there were sixteen steps in the ladder by which he hung him. While he was hanging, and the big giant asleep, he cut off his finger with the little jagged knife that had often freed him in many troubles and difficulties. Whenever he did this he fell, and the bump he gave on the floor of the cave was worse for him than any difficulty in which he had ever been before. He caught the roasting spit, made it red in the fire, and thrust it in the one goggle eye of the big giant, who then was throwing himself vigorously from side to side till the end of the spit struck the wall of the cave and went through his head. With that he gave a yell,¹ and stood on the door step. Conal Grund pushed him backwards till he fell into the sea, and he was drowned. He himself and the mother of the child went away together next day, and were travelling through a hill. At seven o'clock in the evening they came upon two roads, one leading south and one east, and she went south.

Conal Grund arrived at the house of a great man, who was there, and he stayed some time. This man had three young sons who were fond of riding. At that time the King of Ireland had three yellow mares with a white spot in their faces, and no one

¹ [This vivid tale—of (1) a giant (2) who has one eye, (3) is a cannibal and (4) cave-dweller, (5) keeping a large pole, and who (6) when asleep has (7) a glowing spit thrust through his single eye so that (8) his mighty yell disturbs the night—recalls the story of Polyphemus in the *Odyssey*.]

ever went to steal them who escaped alive but was hung. The great man thought if any one could steal them Conal Grund could, and he asked him if he would be willing to go. He gave him no answer the first or second time, but the third time he said he would go, if his (the great man's) three sons were allowed to go with him, as he was now growing old, and would never be as active as he once was. They went. It was a habit with the mares not to eat a morsel when any one was coming to steal them. It was on wine and wheaten bread they were fed. When Conal Grund and his companions arrived they hid themselves in the manger, and from that the three white-faced yellow mares did not eat a bite nor take a sip. The King understood that the matter was as usual. He gathered his people, and the strangers were caught, and the four of them were brought before the King. They were bound and thrown to one side. The King's wife was idly looking at them. At last she said to the young King, 'Will you not ask a tale from the old man?' The young King said, 'I am sure he is not in the humour for telling tales. If I ask a story, I must ask a story.' The first story from the man of the house, and from nightfall till morning from 'the guest,' but at any rate he said thus to him: 'Old grey man, I like your own appearance, and would very much like your story. Were you ever in a worse plight than being tied here to-night, and in expectation of being hanged to-morrow?' 'Unloose from the noose the youngest of these lads there (the youngest had the tenderest skin), and allow him the play and merriment of the house all night,' said he, 'and I will tell you that.' This was done, and, when the youngest of the lads was released, he then told how he was on the ship, and the lot had fallen on him three times, that he was thrown out of the ship into the sea and the whale gulped him up, that he was for such a time inside of it until it went ashore in Ireland, and they tore him out of it, and 'I thought that worse than to be here with you to-night and in expectation of being hanged to-morrow.'

Next night the Queen and the young King said the same, when he asked the second youngest of the lads to be set free to spend the night in share, and play, and merriment of the house. When this one was unbound, he told how he met Archibald the Haughty's wife washing at the river side, and how they were at the grave mourning together, and when he got food he was strong to open the grave,—how he took the

lid off the coffin, and how they were struggling in the grave till cockcrow, and—'I felt it worse to be that night fighting with Archibald the Haughty at his grave, than the King having me bound here to-night, and being perhaps hanged to-morrow.'

The following night, in the same way, the wife of the King requested the young King to ask a story from the old man. As before, he said to him, 'Old grey man, I like you, and I like your stories, but were you ever in a worse plight, except those you have told, than being here to-night and in doubt of being hanged and quartered *nad bhloidhean* to-morrow?' He then asked the eldest of the lads to be released, and he would tell that. This was done, and he gave a history of what happened to him, after he went away with the treasure he succeeded in getting from Archibald the Haughty, that he was going on all day, and in the dusk of the evening he saw smoke at the edge of the shore, that it was from a cave, and what he found there, and the misfortune that overtook him when the giant put his finger in the oaken log and hung him to the wall,—how he cut off his own finger, and the hard bump he got when he fell on the floor of the cave,—that he made the roasting iron red hot before he put it in the goggle eye of the giant who kept the cave, and it went through his head,—and how he drove him back till he stood on a lump of stone that was in the doorway,—how he got a chance of pushing him with both hands backwards until he fell in the sea and was drowned,—and that he himself and the handsome woman he met in the cave went away together, and at seven o'clock in the evening they came to two roads, one trending south and one east. 'So she went her own way and I went mine, taking the fish we had found with us. I did not ask who she was, nor where she came from,—and she did not ask where I was going.'

When the Queen heard this she rose, and took off his bindings and told him that she was the one who was there,—that the young prince was the child she had with her, when they parted she was near her father's house, and that he was welcome to remain with them always. He said that he would remain, if the three sons went home safely. He got the three yellow mares with the white spot on their faces, and he put the three sons and the three yellow white-faced mares home together, and lived himself with the King and the King's daughter and her son ever after.

A Successor of David Garrick

IT has been claimed for John Henderson, otherwise known as 'The Bath Roscius,' that when Garrick retired from the stage, the great actor's mantle descended upon him. Although the son of a factor on an Irish estate, he was of Scottish extraction, being connected with the Hendersons of Fordel in Fifeshire, a family to which Alexander Henderson, one of the first and most distinguished of the Covenanters, belonged. He was born in Goldsmith Street, Cheapside, on March 8, 1747, and received his education at Hemel Hempstead in Hertfordshire. When he left school he came to London and was sent to Daniel Fournier to learn drawing, for which he had shown an aptitude. Fournier, who came of a French refugee family, essayed the rôle of an Admirable Crichton, his ambition being to excel his neighbours in their trade or occupation whatever it might be.

'In the course of one revolving moon
Engraver, painter, fiddler and buffoon'¹

is the description given of him by a contemporary rhymester, but, in addition to this, he was shoemaker, dealt in butter and eggs, modelled in wax, and taught drawing. In 1761 he wrote a treatise on the 'Theory and Practice of Perspective,' to which Henderson contributed some etchings. He used his pupil very badly, for the future tragedian's employment principally consisted in driving his master in a chaise to certain academies in the district, and in looking after the horse when he returned home. Whilst residing at Islington, Henderson joined a spouting club, and his success as a reciter turned his thoughts in the direction of the stage. That he was ambitious, and had perfect confidence in his own ability, there can be little doubt, since the part, in which he made his first appearance, was that

¹Of course the couplet is an adaptation of the well-known lines on Zimri in Dryden's *Absalom and Achithophel*, first part, ll. 549-550.

of Hamlet. The performance, which was given by him under the name of Courtney, took place at Bath, on October, 6, 1772, and was favourably received.

In Garrick's time the tragedy of Hamlet had many absurd stage traditions attached to it, which have at the present day happily fallen into disuse. For instance, it was customary for the Prince of Denmark to enter, having a stocking dangling at his heel, to prove to the audience that his mind was disordered, and for the gravedigger to amuse the gods by taking off half-a-dozen waistcoats before commencing to dig. Henderson, like other intelligent actors of his standing, refused to be bound by established usage. When the Ghost entered in the closet scene, Hamlet was expected to kick down a chair, since the noise of its falling would, it was thought, add greatly to the terror and perturbation of the incident. In censuring Henderson for neglecting to do this, and for other irregularities, one of his critics sagely remarks: 'Deviations so slight as to evade the common eye, and innovations so trifling as to be thought unworthy of notice, have led the way to heresies in religion, and the abolishment of order in civil government. Let us nip error in the bud, and not by our silence give sanction to impropriety.'¹ It is not likely that these magnificent sentiments in any way affected Henderson's interpretation of the character, but the quotation affords a curious illustration of the clumsy methods by which the dramatic censor of the time attempted to harass the actor, without leaving him scope for the display of his own imagination.

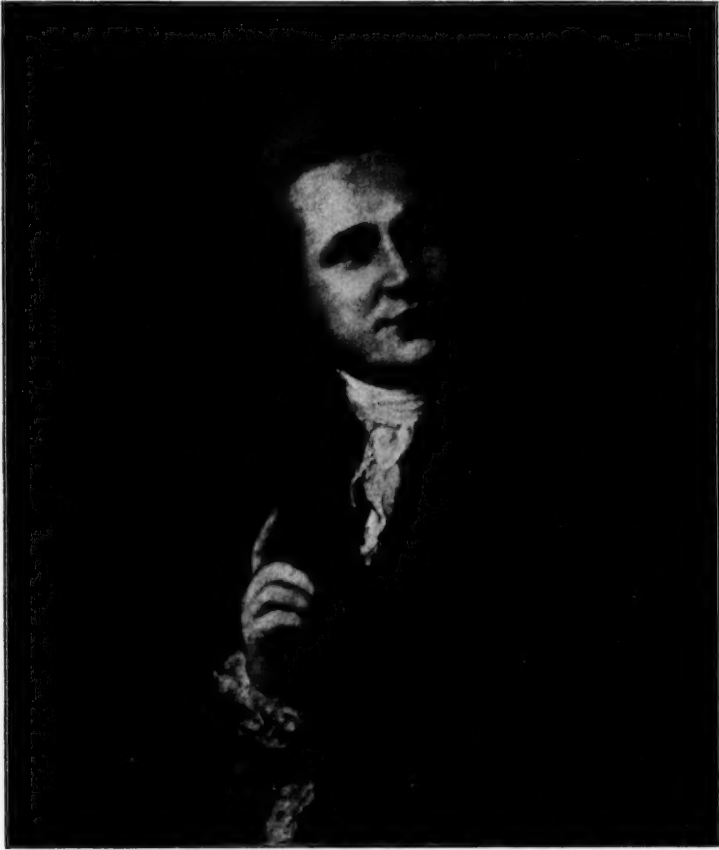
During the same month he appeared as Richard III., a part which Burbage, the greatest tragic actor of Shakespeare's day, created. This season, amongst the many rôles which he assumed were Benedick, Macbeth, King Lear, Alonzo, Bobadill and Don Felix in the *Wonder*, and his extraordinary versatility soon earned for him the name of 'The Bath Roscius.' Before the end of the year he had disclosed his identity, and had firmly established himself in popular esteem. 'I am a great favourite here,' he writes in one of his letters, 'if being followed at the theatre and invited to private parties among people of consequence are proofs of it.' Whilst at Bath he only received a guinea a week, but in 1776, when he came to London, he was probably paid a much higher salary. Next year, Colman

¹ See further, article on 'Stage Traditions' in *All the Year Round*, vol. xix. (1878).

took the Haymarket Theatre from Foote, and on June 11 Henderson acted Shylock there. Macklin, whose impersonation of the Jew was then regarded as unrivalled, gave him encouragement, but Garrick refused him an engagement because he was apparently offended by an imitation of himself given by Henderson in his presence, at the request of some third person. In mimicry Henderson was an adept. O'Keefe, the Irish dramatist, narrates an instance of this, when the actor displayed his talent before a private audience at Cork. 'Among other laughables,' he writes in his *Recollections* (1826), 'he gave us an interview between himself and a theatrical manager; the subject was the manager teaching him, the actor, how to perform Shylock. "This Shylock," said he, "that is Shakespeare's Shylock, though he is a Jew, he's a Jew that walks the Rialto at Venice and talks to the magnificos, and you must not by any means act such a Jew as if he were one of the Jews that sell old clothes and slippers and oranges and sealing wax up and down Pall Mall." In this piece of humour Henderson had the manager's voice perfectly correct, and it gave a great deal of harmless amusement.' The sequel shows that O'Keefe, successful as he was as a farce writer, had not the sense to see when a joke had been carried far enough. 'A year or two after,' he naïvely confesses, 'I was indiscreet enough, on the mention of Henderson, to tell this very manager how cleverly he took him off; he was much nettled, and said: "Take me off, a very impudent thing of him!"' In all probability the unfortunate man was Colman, for, as has just been mentioned, it was under his auspices that Henderson first impersonated Shylock. After all, his remarks are not without significance, since, until Macklin assumed the part, it had been regularly allotted to popular comedians,¹ who, of course, played it in their most amusing style. O'Keefe, who had himself been an actor in early life, befriended Henderson when in Ireland, and wrote of him as a cheerful and pleasing companion. He was the author of no fewer than fifty plays and farces, but of all his writings two songs from his operas, namely, 'I am a Friar of Orders Grey' and 'Amo Amas I love a lass,' have alone survived.

Henderson's rendering of Falstaff is said to have been a marvellous performance, comparable only to that of Quin. He was especially good in scenes of riotous mirth, and he derived immense popularity from his representation of the part. He

¹ Sidney Lee's *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 337.



JOHN HENDERSON

*From the portrait by Thomas Gainsborough in the National Portrait Gallery, by permission of
Messrs. Walker and Cockerell*

See page 308

evidently revelled in it, for, according to one member of the audience, when on the stage his eye was lighted up and his whole countenance beamed voluptuous humour. As Othello he was not so successful. On the first night he complained that his manager habited him in such a ludicrous garb that he wanted nothing but a brush and a scraper to give him a complete resemblance to a chimney sweep, and this disconcerted him. He failed in consequence to give point to the more important speeches, as he felt that his hearers were laughing at him the whole time. The first original rôle he played was Brutus in the *Roman Sacrifice*, a tragedy by William Shirley. Horace Walpole, writing to the Countess of Ossory on December 23, 1777, tells her that he witnessed Henderson's acting in this piece, but was disappointed in him. He admits, however, that the tragedy was 'without a tolerable line,'¹ so that the failure of the production can hardly have been the actor's fault. Next year he appeared as Edgar Atheling in Cumberland's *Battle of Hastings*, and Bireno in Jephson's *Law of Lombardy*. Sir Giles Overreach was also one of his principal parts. At no time did he lack patronage. George III., although a regular theatre-goer, was a tender-hearted spectator. He did not care for Shakespeare or tragedy in general, but, if we may believe Thackeray, preferred farces and pantomime, when he would laugh so outrageously as to have to be called to order.² On one occasion he and Queen Charlotte went to Covent Garden to see Cumberland's *Mysterious Husband*, when Henderson took the hero's part. His acting is described as perfection. During the last scene, in which the husband dies, the King's attention was riveted to the stage, and all at once he exclaimed, 'Charlotte, don't look—it's too much to bear!' The drama was by Royal desire never performed again.

In 1784 Henderson played for the first time at Edinburgh, in the same year that Mrs. Siddons took the town by storm, and attracted even the Kirk ministers to her performances. Theatrical representations had never been regarded with much favour by the townspeople, and a visit of certain Elizabethan actors to the capital in 1599, who, it is alleged, were members of the company to which Shakespeare belonged, led to a conflict between James VI. and the Kirk.³ It was not until the

¹ Horace Walpole's *Letters*, edited by Peter Cunningham (1858), vol. vii. p. 17.

² *The Four Georges*, chap. iii.

³ Sidney Lee's *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 40.

reign of George II. that plays were given with any degree of regularity in Scotland. Allan Ramsay then erected a playhouse in Edinburgh, which was soon closed by order of the magistrates, and he sustained considerable losses in his spirited endeavours to arouse popular interest in the drama.¹ But shortly afterwards entertainments were permitted at Comely Garden, near Holyrood, similar to those at Vauxhall, which were well attended. The theatre, in which Henderson acted, was the Theatre Royal in Princes Street, where he appeared for the first few nights as Hamlet, Shylock, and Sir John Falstaff in the *Merry Wives*.² The press afforded him a favourable reception. 'In judgment and taste,' says the *Courant*, 'Henderson is eminent. He understands perfectly the character he plays, and never fails to give the just meaning of his author. By the third night the house was so crowded that one might have thought Siddons was still acting.' He next gave *Macbeth*, attired in a Spanish dress, with a piece of tartan worn across the shoulder like an order of knighthood. This costume was hardly an improvement on that of Garrick, who was content to appear in the Court dress of the time—a scarlet coat, gold-laced waistcoat, and powdered wig. Macklin was the first actor to don Highland garb, and was hissed off the stage. It is said that he looked more like a Scotch piper than a general and prince of the blood. Stage managers were apparently unaware that tartan had not been invented in the remote times of *Macbeth*.³ Before leaving Scotland, Henderson expressed his grateful sense of the liberal patronage bestowed upon him, and assured his admirers that he would ever retain a lively remembrance of their liberal and flattering attention.

It is not generally known that Henderson was mainly instrumental in popularising that famous ballad, *John Gilpin*. In the spring of 1785 he gave readings at the Freemasons' Hall in conjunction with Thomas Sheridan, including in his repertoire selections from *Tristram Shandy* and *The Sentimental Journey*. By the suggestion of Richard Sharp, one of his friends, the poem, which had then only been published in newspaper form, was added to the list, and it proved more attractive than the serious part of the recitations. Indeed, in his comic readings Henderson is said to have been superior to Mrs. Siddons. But

¹ Chambers' *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 598.

² Dibdin's *Annals of the Edinburgh Stage* (1888), p. 190.

³ See article on 'Macbeth on the Stage' in *All the Year Round*, vol. xv. (1876).

his pathetic utterances were hardly less effective. 'He broke the people's hearts with the story of Le Fèvre,' wrote Tom Dibdin, 'and then nearly killed them over again with laughing at "Johnny Gilpin."' During the season the profits amounted to £800, and every performance was crowded by an appreciative audience. Mrs. Siddons was present on one occasion, and, according to an interested spectator who sat next her, showed her approval by 'lifting up her unequalled dramatic hands and clapping as heartily as she herself used to be applauded in the same manner.'¹ The ballad soon became the town talk, was republished from the newspaper, and 6000 copies of it were sold as soon as it appeared in print. Henderson gave it on the provincial stage, and thus it attained a wide popularity before ever its author's name was disclosed. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1791, John Nichols, the antiquarian, records an interview between the actor and Dr. Johnson, at which he had the honour of being present. The conversation turned, as was natural, on the merits of a certain dramatic writer—perhaps John Home, another Scotsman, whose *Douglas* was then the rage, and whose *Alonzo* Henderson had produced—when Johnson said, 'I never did the man an injury, but he would persist in reading his tragedy to me.' The doctor was unusually affable, for, as Henderson took his leave, he invited him with much earnestness to come again frequently. 'The oftener you call on me, sir, the more welcome will your visits be,' was his cordial farewell. Johnson, it will be remembered, was the friend of Garrick, and it is interesting to find that he had an equal regard for his rival and successor.²

Henderson was only 38 when he died of fever on December 3, 1785. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, and his grave is close to that of Garrick in Poets' Corner.³ He must have

¹ *Edinburgh Review*, vol. lxiii. (1836), p. 363.

² Henderson's only daughter, Harriet, married in 1798 James Carrick Moore of Corswall, brother of Sir John Moore who fell at Corunna and son of Dr. John Moore of Glasgow, correspondent and friend of Burns. Mr. James Carrick Moore died in 1860 and was succeeded by his son, John Carrick Moore, at whose death the estate of Corswall passed into the hands of the late Sir D. C. R. C. Buchanan, Bart., of Drumpellier. His daughter, Miss Julia Carrick Moore, now resident in London, presented to the National Portrait Gallery in March, 1895, the portrait of her grandfather, which had been 'painted by his friend Thomas Gainsborough, R.A.' See page 308.

³ See hereon *The Roll-Call of Westminster Abbey*, by Mrs. A. Murray Smith (1902), *passim*.

possessed remarkable histrionic talents, for his appearance was not in his favour. He was short in stature, and his figure was ill-proportioned. George Colman the younger, in his *Random Records* (1830), tells us that his father, at one time manager of the Haymarket Theatre, started him in characters whose dress might hide his personal deficiencies. Thus it was arranged that his first two impersonations at that theatre should be Shylock and Hamlet, in which the Jew's gaberdine and the Prince of Denmark's 'inky cloak' were of great service. As in the case of his contemporary, David Ross,¹ another Scotch actor, who attained great success in the character of George Barnwell, but who in his later days grew very portly, the effects of good living soon became visible. This is apparent from the portrait painted of him by his friend Gainsborough, who, whilst urging him to use Garrick for a model 'as the greatest creature living in every respect,' expressly warns him against this failing. 'Look upon him, Henderson,' he writes, 'with your imitative eyes, for when he drops you'll have nothing but poor old Nature's book to look in. Now is your time, my lively fellow, and, do you hear, don't eat so devilishly. You'll get too fat when you rest from playing or get a sudden jog by illness to bring you down again.'² It is not probable that Henderson followed his friend's advice to abstain from excessive conviviality, but he was professedly of the Garrick school, and he was not too proud to benefit by example. As an instance of this, it has been maintained that his rendering of the part of Benedick was so closely copied from his master as to be practically identical.

In the year after Henderson's death, his friend, John Ireland, principally remembered as the biographer of Hogarth, published certain *Letters and Poems, with Anecdotes of his Life*, a curious medley, which displays little skill in arrangement. The poems, which are few in number, can only be described as worthless, but the letters are animated, and deal for the most part with the actor's successes and failures, as well as with family concerns.

¹ He joined Garrick's company at the same time as Mossop (1751), and of these two actors a certain wit wrote:

'The Templars they cry Mossop,
The ladies they cry Ross up,
But which is the best is a toss up,'

an effusion which, it is said, vastly delighted Garrick. See his *Life*, by Joseph Knight, F.S.A. (1894), p. 136.

² *Dict. Nat. Biog.* under Thomas Gainsborough, R.A., vol. xx. p. 364.

Take, for example, this extract from a letter to an unknown correspondent, which is merely headed 'From the Banks of the Thames, June 18th': 'For the books you have my best thanks. I used to think I was fond of fishing, but I find it a very dull business. Sir, such a life as I now lead is fit for nothing but an otter, and I believe in my conscience the animals I am with are web-footed and have fins. They are neither fish nor flesh, "A man knows not where to have them," but yet I cannot quit these *rods* and *earth worms* these ten days. Think what a treasure your parcel! Until its arrival, all the print I could pick up in the house from garden to wine cellar was *Bracken's Farriery*, *Hannah Glasse's Cookery* (which, by the way, I very much like, for the last receipt in the book is for a surfeit), *Pomfret's Poems*, and Pope's *Essay on Man*, which last I have read through, and think it very inferior to his other ethic epistles.' Henderson was an omnivorous reader, and especially delighted in books concerned with the marvellous and supernatural, of which he had a good collection. According to Ireland, he had trod the whole circle of witchcraft, from the *Witch of Endor* to the *Story of Mary Squires*, had perused with avidity such works as *Mandeville's Travels*, *Peter Wilkins' Voyage to the Moon*, and *Wanley's Wonders of the Little World*, and had sought for and read the accounts of murders, battles, massacres, martyrdoms, earthquakes, or such events as were calculated to give strong and forcible impressions. But, as his biographer quaintly observes, it must not be inferred from this that his nature was necessarily cruel, and he had a genuine regard for the classics of literature, whose beauties he fully appreciated and expressed in his public readings.

G. A. SINCLAIR.

The Bishops of Dunkeld

Notes on their Succession from the time of Alexander I. to the Reformation

Continued

SINCE the issue of the January number of the *Scottish Historical Review* Dr. J. Maitland Thomson has called my attention to a fact which suggests that the real name of the bishop last recorded may have been, as Myln tells us, 'Richard,' and not 'David,' as I have entered him, relying on the *Great Seal Register*. It will be seen (p. 203) that in the Inverness charter among the witnesses we find, immediately following 'David electo Dunkelden,' the name 'David abbate de Neubotill.' Now it seems certain, or all but certain, that the name of the abbot of Newbottle in 1250 was Roger (see *M. s.a.* 1236, 1256). Hence it is possible that an 'R' was misread as 'D,' and expanded into 'David.' If this be true of the abbot, it may be also true that an 'R' (for Richard) may have been similarly misread in the case of the bishop. In mediaeval script one of the forms of capital 'R' bears a considerable resemblance to one of the forms of capital 'D.' It seems that neither the original charter nor its confirmation is now among the burgh records of Inverness.

RICHARD (III.) OF INVERKEITHING. According to Myln (11) 'camerarius regis' . . . Bower (*Sc. x.* 3) also represents him as chamberlain of the king, and says he was advanced to this see in 1250. From Inchaffray (76) we learn that 4 Non. Aug. 1263 was in the 12th year of his pontificate. This shows that he was consecrated after 2 Aug. 1251, and before 2 Aug. 1252. In the charter (Inchaffray) just referred to he says he has inspected charters of his predecessors 'John the first, Richard, John the second, Hugh, Gilbert, and Galfrid.'

There is evidence for Richard, bp. of Dunkeld, in 1255, when he was appointed at the convention of Roxburgh one of the Guardians of Alexander III. (*A.P.* i. 419). See also *Fæd.* i. 329: in 1260 (*Cambuskenneth*, 269): in 1263 (*Scone*, 74): in 1271 (*Arbroath*, 191-2): in 1264 he was auditor of accounts (*Exchequer Rolls*, i. 11).

In 1265 he erected at his own cost the new choir in the church of the monastery of Inchcolm (*Sc. x.* 20). In 1266 the bones of John of Leicester were translated to the south, and the bones of Richard (I.) and Gilbert to the north of the new choir at Inchcolm (*Sc. x.* 21). In 1268

Richard, bp. of Dunkeld, together with Robert, bp. of Dunblane, attended the Council held at London shortly after Easter, convened by Ottobon the Legate (Sc. x. 24).

Richard of Inverkeithing died on the feast of St. Magnus Martyr (16 April) 1272. His body was buried at Dunkeld, and his heart in the north wall of the choir which he had built in Inchcolm (Sc. x. 30). *Lanercost* (97) places the death of Richard de Invercheten 'Duncheldensis episcopus' under the year 1275 (which must be an error), and relates that it was commonly believed that he had been poisoned, hinting that this was by order of the king with a view to his obtaining possession of the moveable estate of the bishop.

The writer of the *Chronicon de Lanercost* was a credulous gossip.

ROBERT DE STUTEVILLE (D'Estotville), Dean of Dunkeld (as early at least as 1257: *Fœd.* i. 353). According to Bower (Sc. x. 30) 'genere nobilis.' Succeeded 'per electionem' (Sc. and Myln) perhaps in 1272; but, if so, there was some delay in the papal confirmation. On 7 May, 1274, Gregory X. commits to the bps. of Moray, Aberdeen, and Glasgow to examine into the learning and fitness of Master Robert, dean of Dunkeld, whom the canons had elected *per viam compromissi*, and, if satisfied, to confirm his election which the pope declares to have been canonically celebrated, and to consecrate him, after having received the oath of fealty to the Roman See (T. No. 255).

Robert must have died before Dec. 1283 (most probably early in that year, or at some time in the preceding year); for see next two entries.

HUGH DE STRIVELIN (*i.e.* Stirling), canon (? of Dunkeld). From C.P.R. i. 469 we learn that 'on the death of bishop Robert the chapter had elected canon Hugh de Strivelin, who died at the papal court while prosecuting the business of his election.' Our historians have taken no notice of this election.

WILLIAM, Dean of Dunkeld. On the news of the death of Hugh de Strivelin having been announced to the chapter by Masters Peter de Tyllol and Matthew de Crombech, canons, the chapter commissioned the dean, Robert the chancellor, canon Weland de Stykelaw, and the two said canons to elect, who elected William, dean of Dunkeld, whom the pope consecrated by O. bishop of Tusculum. This is related in a letter of Pope Martin IV., dated Orvieto, Id. Dec. (13 Dec.) 1283 (C.P.R. i. 469). Concurrent Letters were sent to the chapter of Dunkeld, to the clergy and to the people of the diocese, to all vassals of the said church, and to the king of Scotland (*Ib.* 470). The bp. of Tusculum mentioned above was Ordeonus (by some called Odo), created cardinal in 1277 (*Giaconus*, ii. 225). Of this William, hitherto unknown, so far as I am aware, nothing further appears save that he is mentioned in the confirmation of his successor. Perhaps he lived till the end of 1287 or beginning of 1288, for his successor was confirmed before the middle of April, 1288. See next entry.

It is certainly remarkable that a bishop of Dunkeld for some four years should seem to have left no trace in Scottish record.

MATTHEW DE CRAMBETH, Dean of Aberdeen (C.P.R. i. 491). This is doubtless the Matthew de Crombech, canon of Dunkeld, noticed in the last entry.

On 13 April, 1288,¹ the pope, Nicholas IV., wrote to Matthew, bp. of Dunkeld: he recites that on the death of William, bp. of Dunkeld, the dean (Symon) and chapter convened to elect a successor. They proceeded *per viam compromissi*. The *compromissarii* were five in number, viz. Matthew, dean of Aberdeen and canon of Dunkeld, the dean of Dunkeld, Gregory, archdeacon of St. Andrews, and William, archdeacon of Teviotdale, and Thomas de Preston, all being canons of Dunkeld. Matthew was elected by the rest *concorditer*. At the instance of the chapter Matthew consented. The decree of the election was laid before the pope, examined by three cardinals, and confirmed. Matthew was consecrated by the pope himself (*per nos ipsos*). Concurrent Letters were sent to the dean and chapter, the clergy and people of the diocese, the vassals of the church of Dunkeld, the bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow and the other Guardians of the realm, and to Margaret, daughter of the king of Norway (T. No. 306).

Myln (12) says that Matthew 'per Anglos institutus est,' which is very probable, but he blunders in placing Matthew's appointment in 1300, which blunder is followed in *Extr.* (131). We find Matthew 'permissione divina' bishop of Dunkeld on 12 August, 1289 (Holyrood, 71). He was at the convention of Brigham, 17 March, 1289-90 (A.P. i. 441). Matthew, having sworn fealty to Edward, 4 May, 1304, had the temporalities of the see and his own patrimonial property (partly in Kinross and partly in the barony of Crambeth in Fife) restored to him (B.C. ii. 398). He was sent with others to the king of France on political business in 1295 (Lanercost, 191). He was ambassador to France in 1303 (A.P. i. 454). He was in Edward I.'s Parliament at Westminster in 1305 (*Ib.* i. 119).

Matthew have must died before 28 Aug. 1309, for at that date Edward II. of England wrote to the pope that his almoner, John de Leck, had been elected to the see of Dunkeld (*Fœdera*, ii. 86). On 14 Dec. 1309, Edward appoints John de Leck to receive the books, vestments, and other *ornamenta* of the chapel of the late bishop, falling to the king by the custom of Scotland (*Ib.* ii. 99). But the election was disputed (see next entry), and the see remained void for some three years. Edward II. advanced 200 lbs. to promote Leck's appointment at the Roman Court (B.C. iii. 33). See next entry.

Matthew's death is erroneously assigned to 1312 in *Extr.* (137).

WILLIAM SINCLAIR (de Sancto Claro): brother of Sir Henry Sinclair of Roslin; canon of Dunkeld.

On 8 May, 1312 (T. No. 398), Pope Clement V., in his letter to William, bp. of Dunkeld, recites that on the death of Matthew the chapter convened for an election, and proceeded *per viam scrutinii*, the appointed scrutineers being three canons of Dunkeld (named). They

¹ In the copy of this letter in the British Museum, *Monumenta Vaticana*, Addit. MS. 15,364, fol. 187, as printed by Stevenson (*Documents illustrative of the History of Scotland*, i. pp. 45 ff.), the letter is dated 10th April (iii. Id. Aprilis).

took the votes of themselves and of the other canons then resident; and the result was that William, canon of Dunkeld, was elected unanimously. William consented, and proceeded to the Apostolic See with proctors of the chapter. But John (presumably John de Leck: see last entry), who at that time claimed to be a canon of Dunkeld (*qui tunc pro canonico dicte Dunkeldensis ecclesie se gerebat*), impugned the election of William, asserting that he was about to be elected by some whom he said were canons of Dunkeld, but *extra Dunkeldensem ecclesiam*. Both John and William appeared before Cardinal James,¹ cardinal deacon of St. George in Velabro, who had been appointed judge by the pope. Each contended that the election of the other was uncanonical. While the litigation was proceeding John (who had the support of the king of England) was promoted to be archbishop of Dublin (18 May, 1311: see C.P.R. ii. 83. The temporality of Dublin granted, 20 July, 1311: B.C. iii. 19) and therefore retired from the action. The pope then declared William's election to have been canonically celebrated, and confirmed William, 'generis nobilitate preclarum,' to the see of Dunkeld, and afterwards caused him to be consecrated by Berengarius, cardinal bishop of Tusculum.² With this letter there was a concurrent letter to the chapter of Dunkeld. It is significant that the usual concurrent letter to the king is not recorded. The pope might well be doubtful who was king of Scotland. In Edward's letter to the pope of 14 Dec. 1309, he had described the dean and chapter as zealous adherents of him, and as having convened in a place (not named) where they might be safe from hostile incursion, and there electing John de Leck *concorditer*. He had evidently been deceived. (*Fæd.* ii. 86.) It seems from what has been cited that William's election had preceded the (so-called) election (not at Dunkeld) of John.

William Sinclair was probably striving to make his way back to Scotland when, on 2 Feb. 1312-13, Edward II. granted, at the bishop's request, a safe-conduct to 'the bishop elect of Dunkeld said to have been confirmed by the pope,' to turn aside at Berwick-on-Tweed to get himself arrayed, thence proceeding to the king (Edward II.), provided he goes no further into Scotland or holds converse with the enemy (B.C. iii. No. 301).

It is to be noted that, long prior to his confirmation by the pope, Sinclair had, as bishop of Dunkeld, taken part in the political action of the Scottish bishops. On 24 Feb. 1309-10, at Dundee, he was a party to the declaration of the clergy of Scotland, including eleven other bishops, that they had willingly done fealty to Robert, illustrious king of Scotland, as their lawful king (A.P. i. 100³).

¹ Caietanus de Stephaneschis. *Ciaconius*, ii. 324.

² See *Ciacon.* ii. 373.

³ The account of William's valour in repulsing the English who had landed at Donibristle, when he sallied forth from his manor of Auchtertool and led the hesitating sheriff to the attack, and how for this king Robert used to style him 'my bishop,' is told by Bower (Sc. xii. 24) and Myln (13). In the latter will be found some notices of his church building.

We find Sinclair present at the coronation of Edward Balliol at Scone on 24 Sept. 1332 (Sc. xiii. 24), and he is in a parliament held in Edinburgh by Edward Balliol on 12 Feb. 1333-34 (A.P. i. 542). Yet in 1335-6 the bishop of Dunkeld 'extat contra fidem,' and the lands of the see at Kirkcramond are accounted for to Edward, king of England (B.C. iii. p. 335).

Sinclair died, according to Myln (13-15), on 27 June, 1337, and there is no reason for doubting Myln's statement. The see appears to have become vacant in the year from Michaelmas 1336 to Michaelmas 1337. It was certainly vacant at Michaelmas 1337: for an account was rendered to Edward III. of the revenues of the church of Cramond, 'que quidem ecclesia est in manu Regis per vacationem episcopatus Dunkeldensis' (B.C. iii. p. 391¹).

RICHARD (IV.) DE PILMOR, who at the time of his appointment was precentor of Moray (C.P.R. iii. 126, 182), canon of Aberdeen with the prebend of Cruden (*Ib.* 150), and canon of Ross with the prebend of Contan (*Ib.* 183).

On account of a disputed election and the death of the pope before whom the litigation had begun, the see was vacant for some seven or eight years.

On 5 July, 1344, Clement VI. writes to Richard de Pilmor, 'elect of Dunkeld,' and narrates that on the death of William, bishop of Dunkeld, who had died in Scotland (*in illis partibus*), the chapter had convened for the election of his successor. The electors were divided; and the election was disputed between Richard de Pilmor, priest, and the late Malcolm of Inepeffren (Innerpeffray), canon of Dunkeld. Both parties resorted in person to the Apostolic See.² And to both elections opposition was raised by Duncan, precentor of Dunkeld. Pope Benedict XII. submitted the whole question to Bertrand, cardinal-bishop of Ostia, who was to report to his Holiness. While the process was still *sub iudice*, first, Malcolm died, and then Benedict XII. (25 April, 1342). Clement VI., who succeeded, ordered the business of the inquiry to be resumed. Bertrand reported; and the pope, 'non tamen persone tue vicio,' but 'for certain reasonable causes' (which as usual are not stated), quashed the election and declared it null and void. But *auctoritate apostolica* he appoints Richard to Dunkeld.

¹ In *Registrum Glasguense* (i. 231) we have a copy of a writ, dated at Scone, near Perth, in the General Council assembled there on the Tuesday next before the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin (25 March), 1324, to which the seal of 'Walter,' bishop of Dunkeld and Conservator of the whole clergy of Scotland, is said to be attached. There can be, I think, no doubt that 'Walter' is a clerical error for 'William.' It may be observed that 'Walter' (as the name of another person) occurs in the writ, and, for the last time, immediately preceding the notice of the bishop of Dunkeld. William was certainly the name of the bishop immediately preceding Richard de Pilmor (see next entry).

² The election probably took place towards the end of 1337; for we find Edward III. granting (3 Jan. 1337-38) a safe-conduct to Master Malcolm de Innerpeffri, elect of Dunkeld in Scotland, who is going to Rome to have his election confirmed (B.C. iii. No. 1254). Perhaps Malcolm was an adherent of the English party.

Concurrent letters were sent to the chapter, to the clergy and people of the diocese, to the vassals of the church of Dunkeld, and to David (II.), king of Scotland (T. No. 559).

A few days later, 14 July, 1344, the pope grants leave to Richard, elect of Dunkeld, to contract a loan of 3000 gold florins on the moveable and immoveable estate of the bishopric as held by him and his successors, Richard having declared that otherwise he did not believe that he could obtain credit. The pope limits the bond over Dunkeld to four years. The object of the loan is stated to be to meet the expenses incurred, or to be incurred, in 'expediting his business' (T. No. 560).

Doubtless the money was raised, and the bulls expedited, for on 27 Sept. 1344, he is commanded to betake himself to his diocese, he having been consecrated by Peter, cardinal-bishop of Palestrina (C.P.R. iii. 170).¹ On 25 Jan. 1345, Richard was granted by the pope an indult to choose his confessor, who shall give him, being penitent, plenary remission at the hour of death (C.P.R. iii. 162). At the same date he is granted faculties to dispense (a) six sons of priests, (b) six persons of illegitimate birth, and (c) six sons of deacons to be ordained and hold a benefice each (*Ib.* 162).

Richard de Pilmor did not long hold the see. We find him and another Pilmor, John de Pilmor, bp. of Moray, in the chapterhouse of the cathedral at Elgin on 20 Oct. 1345 (R.M. 156). With several other Scottish bishops he signed a petition to the pope for a dispensation for the marriage of Robert Stewart with Elizabeth More. Before the petition was granted (22 Nov. 1347) he was dead. See next entry.²

DUNCAN DE STRATHERN, Precentor of Moray.

He was appointed, by papal provision, 15 Oct. 1347, to the see void by the death of Richard (T. No. 575). The pope states that he had specially reserved the appointment, and makes no reference to a capitular election. But there is other evidence that there had been an election at Dunkeld; for *ROBERT DE DEN*, archdeacon of Dunkeld, on 28 Jan. 1348, was granted by the pope the reservation of a benefice, he having been elected to the see of Dunkeld in ignorance that it had been reserved to the pope (C.P.R. iii. 245). Den seems to have died before Oct. 1349 (*Ib.* 315), perhaps at the Apostolic See (*Ib.* 593).

Shortly after Duncan's provision to the see he was allowed by the pope (9 Nov. 1347) to contract a loan of 2000 florins to meet his expenses at the Apostolic See (C.P.R. iii. 264).

That Duncan's name was Strathern is inferred on comparing C.P.R. iii. 182 with 240. Myln (15) says Duncan was an Englishman and had come to Scotland with his cousin, Walter de Fotheringay, in company with Edward Balliol. But the name Duncan and the name Strathern do not favour this statement.

¹ The consecrating bishop was Peter de Prato. *Ciaconius*, ii. 416.

² Presumably the bishops of Moray and Dunkeld were brothers, for John de Kethensis was a nephew of Bishop Richard (C.P.R. iii. 153), and he was also a nephew of Bishop John (*Ib.* 463).

Duncan was present at David II.'s parliament held at Dundee, 15 May, 1350 (see charter cited by Crawford, *Officers of State*, 288). He was bishop of Dunkeld, 1 April, 1354 (Kelso, 389: see also A.P. Supplement, 9). He must have died later in the same year or early in 1355.¹ See next entry.

JOHN (II.), Precentor of Dunkeld.

He was provided by the pope (Innocent VI.) on 18 May, 1355 (T. No. 621). In the letter referred to, the pope states that the vacancy had been caused by the death of Duncan, that the chapter of Dunkeld, ignorant, as they alleged, of the pope having reserved the see to his own provision, had elected John, precentor of Dunkeld, being in priest's orders, and that he in like ignorance had assented to his election, and had come in person for confirmation to the Apostolic See. The pope pronounced the election null, as being contrary to his reservation. But nevertheless he appoints the said John. John was consecrated before 29 June, 1355, for on that day the pope orders him to betake himself to his see, he having been consecrated by Peter, cardinal-bishop of Palestrina (T. No. 623).

He seals a letter of credence *in concilio* at Perth, 17 Jan. 1356-57 (A.P. i. 515).

The exact date of John's death is uncertain. John, bp. of Dunkeld, was accepted (with other bishops) as an arbiter by the chapter of Glasgow, 2 Sept. 1362 (R.G. i. 271). He was in Edinburgh on 8 May, 1365 (R.M.S. folio, p. 45), in Perth on 17 April, 1365 (R.M.S. folio, p. 44, No. 125), and in Parliament at Perth, 24 July, 1365 (A.P. i. 496). John, bp. of Dunkeld, was a witness to the fourteen years' truce signed at the castle of Edinburgh, 20 July, 1369 (*Fæd.* III. ii. 877).

JOHN OF CARRICK. He appears as 'elect of Dunkeld' in 1370 (*Exchequer Rolls*, ii. 356). But he probably failed to obtain confirmation, for, as bishop of Dunkeld, we hear no more of him. Is this the John of Carrick who was appointed chancellor of Scotland in 1370? John of Carrick, canon of Glasgow, appears as a witness on 4 April, 1369 (R.M.S. ii. No. 494). As to John of Carrick, the chancellor, evidence is abundant.

MICHAEL DE MONYMUSK, Dean of Glasgow, Chamberlain of the King.

There is no light as to his appointment in the papal records as printed in T. and C.P.R.

There was a bishop of Dunkeld (unnamed) 1 July, 1372 (C.P.R. iv. 101). 'Michael Dunkeldensis' is present in the parliament held at Scone, 4 April, 1373 (A.P. i. 562).

We find 'M., by divine permission, bp. of Dunkeld,' on 23 Oct. 1374 (Scone, 145).

According to Myln (15) Michael died 1 March, 1376, and was buried in the choir of Dunkeld, on the right of William Sinclair. There does

¹ Myln is seriously in error in placing Duncan's death in 1363.

not seem to be any evidence, except that of Myln, for Michael being chamberlain of Scotland.¹

JOHN DE PEBLYS, Chancellor of Scotland (1377).

Appointed perhaps in 1377, or certainly early in 1378. There are *lacunae* at this time in the papal records. We have, however, evidence that his appointment was certainly before the death of Gregory XI. (who died 27 March, 1378). On 26 Oct. 1378, Clement VII. (Anti-pope) makes provision to Adam de Tiningham, dean of Aberdeen, of a canonry and prebend in Glasgow void by reason of Gregory XI. having promoted John de Peblys, papal collector in Scotland, to the see of Dunkeld (C.P.R. *Pet.* i. 538). He was not consecrated at once, for we find him as elect of Dunkeld, 17 April, 1379 (C.P.R. *Pet.* i. 544). He was still elect of Dunkeld when he gets a safe-conduct to England, 10 May, 1379 (2 *Rot. Scot.* 15). Indeed, as late as 11 March, 1383-84, he subscribed a letter to the chancellor of England (Richard Scrupe) only as 'Johannes de Peblys, confirmatus Ecclesie Dunkeldensis, Cancellarius Scocie' (B.C. iv. No. 322). This shows that we cannot accept his appearance as 'bishop of Dunkeld' on 11 Aug. 1379 (R.A. i. 112) as a proof of consecration. Scotland at this time adhered to the Anti-popes; and it appears that John was, before 30 Oct. 1379, deprived by the pope, whom he did not recognise and whose acts were ineffective in Scotland. See the passage relating to the appointment of Robert de Derling, which is given in the appendix to this article relating to the appointments of the papal, as distinguished from the anti-papal, bishops of this see.

It was perhaps some information as to Derling's appointment, misunderstood, that made Myln (16) assign the death of John de Peblys to 1396. See next entry.

We find 'John our chancellor, bishop of Dunkeld,' on 14 Feb. and 18 March, 1389-90 (R.M.S. folio, pp. 197, 178).²

J. DOWDEN.

¹ There is much evidence as to Michael's earlier history. He had been dean of Dunblane and dean of Aberdeen, from which he was eventually, after much litigation, in which he had spent his goods and those of some of his friends, removed. In 1366 Michael de Monymusk, licentiate in Canon Law, petitions Urban V. for a vacant canonry and prebend in Aberdeen, notwithstanding that he had the deanery of Glasgow. While dean of Dunblane he held also prebends in Brechin and Ross. See C.P.R. *Petit.* i. 142, 325, 326, 375, 379, 506, 527.

² Earlier history of John de Peblys. In 1374 he was archdeacon of St. Andrews, M.A., doctor of Canon Law, papal nuncio, and collector of papal dues in Scotland, Sodor, and Orkney. He had canonries and prebends in Glasgow and Aberdeen and the church of Douglas in the former diocese (C.P.R. iv. 152, 195). He had been official of Glasgow for at least three years in April, 1363 (C.P.R. *Pet.* i. 417), and Treasurer of Glasgow in 1365 (*ib.* 506).

(To be continued.)

Reviews of Books

THE ARTS IN EARLY ENGLAND. By G. Baldwin Brown, M.A., Watson Gordon Professor of Fine Art in the University of Edinburgh. Vol. I., pp. ii, 388, Vol. II., pp. iv, 351. Med. 8vo, with Maps and Illustrations. London: John Murray. 1903. 2 vols. 32s. net. (I. The Life of Saxon England in its relation to the Arts. II. Ecclesiastical Architecture in England from the conversion of the Saxons to the Norman Conquest.)

THESE two volumes, though in a sense each is complete in itself, are the first instalment of a comprehensive history of the Arts in Early England. It is therefore, perhaps, too soon to express any opinion as to how far Professor Baldwin Brown has succeeded in the task which he has taken in hand. We need, however, have no hesitation in saying that he has begun well. In his second volume he has dealt with the remains of Saxon ecclesiastical architecture so satisfactorily, that it must long continue to be of value to students of English history, even when they approach the subject from a very different standpoint to that of our author. And if, when reading the first volume, we sometimes feel inclined to find fault, it may well be that the completion of the work will show us that the fault lies rather in the reader than in the writer, and that what may now seem to us a tendency to over-hasty generalisation, and a somewhat undue insistence on the unity of the present and the past, have sprung from a perfectly right desire on the part of the author to emphasise points which a close study of the detail in old handiwork may incline us to overlook.

The first volume has at anyrate this merit, it is delightful reading throughout. In the opening chapter, with its description of an old Kentish cottage, even though we may fail to see the particular connection between that cottage and Saxon art, we at once feel the loving appreciation of the author for the 'simple structure which has grown by a sort of accident into beauty,' and begin to look eagerly forward to the fulfilment of his promise 'to bring out' in a later portion of his book, 'the lessons which the modern craftsman may learn from his far away forerunners of early Saxon days.'

The object of the introductory volume is to help us to realise the ordinary social and religious life of English people during the early mediæval period. The author tries to attain this object by singling out here and there certain points of contact between the past and the present, which may enable the imagination to travel easily back to those scenes

Brown: The Arts in Early England 323

in the midst of which the work, which he describes in detail further on in his book, was executed. His object is a good one, for the arts of a people are always and everywhere the outcome of their ordinary life; and his method is good, for the points of contact which he has selected are of so familiar a kind, that there must be few readers who cannot easily and at once understand them.

The development of motor-traffic, and the need to meet this, may probably before long give even greater vividness than it has at present to one of these points; nothing is more characteristic of England than its public roads, and of these roads Professor Baldwin Brown has made good



Oratory on St. Macdara's Island, off Connemara, Ireland.

use in elaborating his argument. We gather many hints from this volume as to how it has come about that the art of living in the country, as distinct from life in the city, has been brought by the English to that perfection which strikes all foreigners who visit our land. The marked difference in the surroundings of a typical English and of a typical foreign cathedral at once makes itself felt by anyone who has seen both. The Professor skilfully seizes on that difference in order to impress on his readers facts whose full bearing on the history of the arts they will only grasp when they come to the study of details. Other important facts should easily be realised by anyone who knows, as it may be presumed most Englishmen do know, anything of the arrangements still connected with a parish church.

If we are to find any fault with this volume of Professor Baldwin Brown's, it can only be because he leads his readers into so many varied

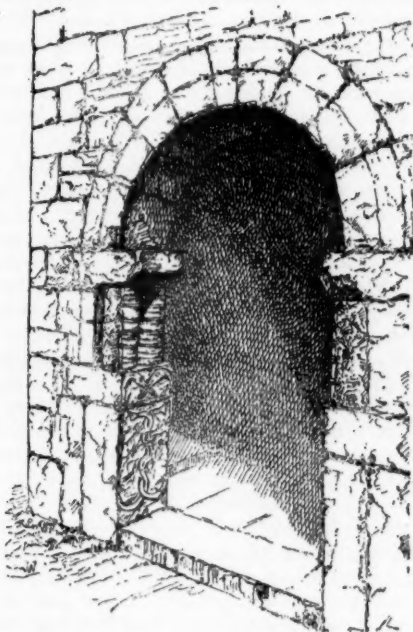


Western tower of Church of St. Peter, Monkwearmouth, Durham, before the last restoration.

Brown: The Arts in Early England 325

and fascinating paths, that they are hardly to blame if they occasionally allow their thoughts to wander far from the subject which he has in hand, especially since in the copious supply of footnotes—which is one of the merits of his book—he gives ample guidance to anyone who wishes to yield to the temptation.

Probably most readers of the first volume will find its fifth and sixth chapters, the chapters descriptive of early monastic life in England, to



Western doorway of porch, Monkwearmouth.

be those which are of most interest. These chapters, which are written in a singularly fair spirit, contain little, if any, information which is not worth remembering, and omit little which we could wish to have seen included; perhaps it might have been well if the author had inserted a note pointing out how, long after the Norman Conquest, the presence of both sexes continued not only in houses of the Gilbertines, but also in several Benedictine nunneries; for without such a note a reader may easily get the idea that the custom came to an end much sooner than it did; perhaps too we might have had rather fuller information as to ceremonial usages, though with the knowledge that our author has yet to deal with some of the most striking, even if small, monuments of art as applied to religion, we may scarcely feel justified in complaining of such

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omission. But, even if these be omissions, this volume appears to us as useful as any single existing volume in our language to be recommended to the notice of any one beginning the study, not merely of what Professor Baldwin Brown proposes to put before us, but of far wider fields of development in English political or social history.

The second volume deals with ecclesiastical architecture in England from the time of the conversion of the Saxons to the time of the Norman Conquest; it must therefore be looked at from a different point of view from that from which we look at the first volume. We have not now a book which the general reader can run through rapidly and with pleasurable ease; we have one which, if it is to be appreciated, needs close attention, and bespeaks the possession of a good deal of special knowledge. In this, as in the first volume, an admirable index and numerous excellent illustrations give us much help. We are glad to have these in the first volume, but in the second we find them quite invaluable. By the aid of the index we are able to gain a mastery over the contents of the book in a wonderfully short space of time, and the illustrations enforce the author's views in a way which no words could do; this is partly because Professor Baldwin Brown has wisely refrained from adopting any of the modern processes of photography which, however admirable for securing accuracy of a certain kind, can never express that insistence on a particular feature which is so often just what a learner needs.

More than half of the volume is taken up by a detailed consideration of existing buildings or portions of buildings. This is the first time that an attempt has been made to group together, in anything like a complete manner, or to classify the remains of Saxon churches in England. The attempt is pre-eminently successful: close personal observation underlies all this part of the Professor's work, and, in whatever direction his conclusions may some day be modified, it is not likely that the collection of facts on which it is based will ever be superseded. About 185 places are mentioned where Saxon ecclesiastical building can still be seen. To many persons this number may at first seem large; but if they read this book, those persons will probably admit that the number must soon be largely added to. For they will find that no structure has been included in the list except on very strong technical evidence derived from the building itself; and they will find too that the Professor has not yet dealt with any of the evidence which can be derived from the study of Saxon ornament as displayed in other things than actual mason work. When he comes to consider manuscripts which often illustrate architectural detail, and the carving of stone crosses, or of ivory, we shall be surprised if Professor Baldwin Brown does not supply us with at any rate a strong presumption for assigning a pre-Norman date to many structures not included in his list.

In the classification of existing remains, Professor Baldwin Brown rightly prefers on the whole to base his dividing lines rather on type of plan than on chronological sequence; but he does indicate a division into three periods. It must be left to the reader to examine the grounds of this division for himself; it will be well worth his while to do so; but

Brown: The Arts in Early England 327

we are inclined to think that he will find it somewhat difficult to convince himself of the existence of the middle period.

A consideration of the political relations between England and the Continent in the early part of the ninth century, and onwards, will pre-dispose the reader to agree with the author when, for technical reasons, he attributes some of the most striking features of later Saxon architecture to German influence; and we feel sure that this conclusion will be found to be even more probable when we come to deal with art as applied to small objects.

We are tempted to dwell on many of the points discussed in this volume, but to do so shortly and at the same time adequately is probably impossible; we can only advise all who are at all interested in its subject to read the book for themselves: if they do so they will be delighted with it. One hint of caution may perhaps be given; it is this, was not Wilfrid more influenced by Roman examples than our author seems to think? The personality of Wilfrid is of such importance in the history of English architecture; so many known incidents in his life might lead us to expect him to have been considerably influenced by Rome, that we think the subject is well worth pursuing, and perhaps Professor Baldwin Brown may forgive us for the wish that he had dealt more fully with the point. But be that as it may, we fancy there will be few readers to disagree with our author's conclusion—'Saxon England stood outside the general development of European architecture, but the fact gives it none the less of interest in our eyes.'

THOS. D. GIBSON CARMICHAEL.

THE ANCESTRY OF RANDALL THOMAS DAVIDSON, D.D. (Archbishop of Canterbury): A CHAPTER IN SCOTTISH BIOGRAPHY. By the Rev. Adam Philip, M.A., Longforgan. Pp. viii, 39, with 12 Illustrations, 8vo. London: Elliot Stock, 1903. 3s. 6d.

'WORTHY Mrs. Goodal kept a shop in Leith.' So begins the book of the Ancestry of Randall Thomas Davidson, but we are relieved in the next sentence or two, and learn that after all Mrs. Goodal had no part in the Archbishop's pedigree, and next to none in his family history.

The first of his line who is mentioned by Mr. Philip is David Randall, a Scots merchant in, or connected with, Holland. He appears in *Wodrow* several times. His son Thomas Randall, who became an eminent minister of the Church of Scotland, was born in 1710, graduated at Edinburgh in 1730, and was presented successively to the parishes of Inchture and Stirling. The surname Randall, not wide spread in that form at least, was already common, says Mr. Philip, in the neighbourhood of Inchture. 'It occurs frequently in the Register of Cupar [-Angus] Abbey. Amongst the tenants in Carse Grange are Ranalds, Ranaldsons, Randalsons, and Randalls, or, as it is sometimes given, Randal, Randale, Randell, Rendal. There were others about Perth in the days of the Reformation.' Mr. Philip does not push the matter

328 Philip: Ancestry of R. T. Davidson, D.D.

further, but the catalogue suggests the enquiry if the surname is Celtic and only another form of Ranald, and if Thomas Randall's presentation to Inchtute suggests a relationship between him or his family with Randalls already there. To us, Thomas Randall is known through the *Diary and Letters* of Joseph of Kidderminster, the *Life of Dr. Erskine*, by Rev. Sir Henry Moncreiff Wellwood, his own pamphlets and such like, and his contributions to the *Scottish Paraphrases*. He was a man of genius and personal influence, of great piety and 'a dash of eccentricity,' and was not invariably entirely obedient to the courts of the Church. His wife, Mary Davidson, widow of John Eliot of Chapelhill, and mother by that marriage of the Court Physician, Sir John Eliot, Baronet, was a daughter of the Rev. Thomas Davidson, one of the ministers of Dundee. She had a brother Hugh, rector of Kirby, Yorkshire, and—what is more relevant to the subject of the present narration—a brother William, merchant in Rotterdam, who acquired a fortune, and purchased the estate of Muirhouse, near Edinburgh. The eldest son of her second marriage, Thomas, his uncle William's heir, afterwards the Rev. Dr. Thomas Randall Davidson, followed his father as minister of Inchtute, was afterwards minister of the 'Outer High' Parish, Glasgow, and finally of the Tolbooth Parish, Edinburgh. He was a popular preacher, a paragon of punctuality, and a master of manners. He was known to have given one divinity student from the country lessons with practical demonstration on how to come into a room, and to another a banknote privately with the injunction to go for a term to the dancing school. And yet, withal, Dr. Davidson of the Tolbooth was remembered by the great Thomas Chalmers as 'that venerable Christian patriarch . . . whose heavenward aspirations, whose very looks of love, and grace celestial apart from language, altogether bespoke the presence of a man who felt himself at the gates of his blissful and everlasting home.' Dr. Davidson married twice, firstly Christian Rutherford, and after her death, Elizabeth, sister of Henry Cockburn, the well-known Judge, and daughter of Archibald Cockburn, one of the Barons of Exchequer.

He was succeeded by his eldest son by his first marriage, William, and he, by his son Thomas, an eminent palaeontologist. But Muirhouse eventually passed to Henry (not mentioned in *Scots Fasti*), Dr. Davidson's fourth son, and third by his second marriage. Henry Davidson of Muirhouse married Henrietta, daughter of John Campbell Swinton of Kimmerghame, in Berwickshire, and their eldest son is the Primate whose ancestry Mr. Philip set out to prove.

It is an interesting and well informed monograph. So far as he has been able Mr. Philip has delineated the mothers as well as the fathers of the stock, and his little work, apart from the interest of the individual characters which in succession are portrayed in it, is a valuable contribution to the library of the student of heredity. Time and again a son of a Scottish minister has become an English Dean or Bishop. But what in the wide range of possibilities, good, bad, and indifferent, has some son or near descendant of the manse not become! Still the monograph before us appears at an interesting moment, when—not to go further—the one

Die gedruckten englischen Liederbücher 329

English Archbishop is the grandson of a Scots minister, and the other, a great-grandson. Dr. W. D. Maclagan, Archbishop of York, is great-grandson and name-child of Dr. William Dalrymple, minister of Ayr.

J. H. STEVENSON.

DIE GEDRUCKTEN ENGLISCHEN LIEDERBÜCHER BIS 1600. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der sangbaren Lyrik in der Zeit Shakespeares. Von Wilhelm Bolle. (Palaestra xxix.) Pp. cxxvi, 283. Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1903.

THIS volume contains the text (without the music) of 25 English song-books published between 1587 and 1600. Most of these have not previously been reprinted entire, though many of the songs—perhaps all of them that have any real poetic merit—have found admission into various modern anthologies. Herr Bolle has deserved the thanks of students of Elizabethan poetry by bringing these collections together in a convenient form, and also by the pains he has taken to trace the origin and the literary history of the poems. In the case of those pieces which are extant in more than one early edition, the variant readings are given in the footnotes. The proof-reading has not been so careful as could be desired; there are many obvious misprints not included in the list of errata. Such uncorrected errors as 'tore agast' (p. 79) for *sore agast*, 'lovers feares' (p. 26) for *lovers teares*, 'billy' (p. 29) for *lilly*, 'though' (p. 32) for *through*, 'rorie' (p. 119) for *rosie*, are likely to shake the reader's confidence in the accuracy of the text, especially as it will be seen that similar misprints are not infrequent in the notes and introductions. It is quite possible that some of the mistakes above quoted may be found in the original editions; but, if so, they ought to have been corrected in the footnotes, or at least marked with a 'sic' to prevent them from being taken for editorial blunders.

The editor intimates in his preface that his original intention was to reprint only the seven song-books published by Thomas Morley, and that it was by Professor Brandl's advice that he was induced to include the other collections. This enlargement of plan has added materially to the value of the book, but one feature has been retained from the original design which does not harmonise well with the structure of the extended work. The section of the introduction entitled 'Inhalt und Form der Morley'schen Lyrik,' which occupies 40 pages, and has the appearance of having been written as a doctoral dissertation, is characterised by an elaborate minuteness quite out of proportion to the importance of the compositions discussed (of which, indeed, the editor himself has no high opinion); and this want of proportion is emphasised by the absence of any corresponding treatment of the metrical and stylistic features of the other collections. The form of the references in the dissertation, also, is unsuitable in its present position: the use of the letters from A to G to denote Morley's seven books might not have been inconvenient if the volume had contained no other texts; but now that Morley's books are interspersed among a number of others in chronological order, this notation renders it

330 Die gedruckten englischen Liederbücher

very difficult to find the passages referred to. It would have been better if the seven collections had been indicated by intelligible abbreviations of their titles. However, it is not very likely that any one (in England, at least) will ever find occasion to follow Herr Bolle in his exhaustive study of the technique of Morley's songs, and, if any one does so, he can write the reference letters at the top of the pages.

The general introduction contains full biographical notices of the composers who contributed the music of the collections reprinted in the volume. In the article on Morley is given a long and interesting extract from his famous 'Introduction to Musicke.' Noteworthy evidence of Morley's celebrity as a musician is afforded by the two books, published in 1609 and 1624, containing collections of his compositions with German words. The text of these books is reprinted at the end of this volume.

Herr Bolle has done a solid and valuable piece of work, which justifies the hope that he will attain a distinguished position among the representatives of English scholarship in Germany.

HENRY BRADLEY.

THE PRECES PRIVATAE OF LANCELOT ANDREWES, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

Translated with an Introduction and Notes by F. E. Brightman, M.A.,
Fellow of S. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford; Canon of Lincoln.
Pp. lxii, 392. Crown 8vo. London: Methuen & Co., 1903. 6s.

THIS book needs no commendation from us: the names of the author and of his modern editor are a sufficient guarantee of worth. The Private Prayers of Lancelot Andrewes are among the most remarkable collections of Christian devotions which the world has ever seen. Drawn from many sources, patristic, mediaeval, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, they provide for every need of the Christian life. Compiled and selected with wonderful care, they formed the daily companion of one of the saintliest of men. The edition before us is an accurate translation from the printed text of 1675, corrected and supplemented by the mss. The matter has been re-arranged for practical use, as far as possible in accordance with the Bishop's own scheme of devotion. This has really been necessary, for in parts of the original much had been thrown together without arrangement. Marginal references have been added throughout. To glance over them makes one marvel at the wide reading and the keen theological insight of the author. Mr. Brightman has given us an excellent critical introduction, and there are about a hundred pages of closely printed notes, historical and theological. There are few books, in our judgment, which appeal to so many different readers as this. It is useful alike to the theologian, the man of letters, the liturgical student, the preacher, and the historian of the seventeenth century, for it is one of the richest productions of English learning when English literature was near its best. We are sorry that it is printed upon such poor paper. In a few years' time our modern publishers will have cause to regret their present meanness in this respect.

F. C. EELES.

The Collected Works of William Hazlitt 331

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF WILLIAM HAZLITT. Edited by A. R. Waller and Arnold Glover, with an Introduction by W. E. Henley. In twelve volumes. Demy 8vo. London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1902, 1903. 7s. 6d. net each.

It was said of Hazlitt that a complete collection of his works was all the monument he demanded. He has had to wait seventy years for it. The pious but insufficient labours of his son and grandson were directed to gathering essays which he himself did not live to issue in volume form; while enthusiasts such as Mr. Alexander Ireland did little more than trace and catalogue his scattered publications. Mr. Waller and Mr. Glover have taken advantage of their great opportunity. They have reprinted for the first time Hazlitt's early and laboured ventures in philosophy, politics, and grammar, and they have rescued from forgotten magazines the essays which he dashed off in his later struggles. The edition has the further interest of being introduced by a sketch of Hazlitt in Mr. Henley's most vigorous manner.

The labour of the edition, however, has been Mr. Waller's and Mr. Glover's. They have reprinted from the latest texts published in Hazlitt's lifetime, and have refused 'to modernise or improve Hazlitt's orthography or punctuation.' They have as wisely retained all his innumerable misquotations. In many cases it is impossible to say whether the variation is deliberate; and even his slips have their value. A Hazlitt correct in quotations is, despite the plea of his grandson, almost a contradiction in terms. The editors have dealt wisely also with his inveterate habit of repetition. But it is difficult to understand the arrangement of the volumes. The works are grouped neither chronologically nor according to subject. The *Life of Holcroft* is bound up with the *Liber Amoris*, the *Plain Speaker* is forced into company with the early *Essay on the Principles of Human Action*, and the *Round Table* is separated by five volumes from *Table Talk*. It is to be regretted that the editors did not insist on the inclusion of the *Life of Napoleon*. The savagery of the *Quarterly* would have been less galling to Hazlitt than the thought that his only elaborate work, to which he even entrusted his reputation, should not find a place in the first authoritative collected edition. The obloquy which it inevitably endured in his own day still seems to haunt it. It may be untrustworthy as a history, but it is a document which cannot be neglected in a representation of his varied talents. Its size has told against it: on all other considerations it had stronger claims to be included than the *Life of Holcroft*, which Hazlitt only revised and completed. To its omission we probably owe the reprints of his earlier works and stray magazine articles. The essay on *Pope, Lord Byron, and Mr. Bowles*, which is claimed to be reprinted for the first time, is found in the edition published in 1891 by Messrs. Gibbings.

Much of the value of the edition lies in the excellent bibliographical notes, which give full details of the history of the different volumes and of many individual essays. In the explanatory notes—which on the whole are of less value—the editors have condensed a vast amount of varied material. They have given so much that it is almost ungenerous to hint at faults.

332 The Collected Works of William Hazlitt

The vague allusion in the essay 'On Criticism' to the silencing of the 'masked battery of Blackwood's Magazine' is explained by a reference to Mr. Lang's *Life of Lockhart*; but the fact is that the masked battery was never silenced, and in 1826 we find Hazlitt himself still complaining of the 'reckless blackguardism of Mr. Blackwood.' To define Granville the polite as a 'follower of Waller in English verse,' is to give a pointless paraphrase of Granville's own words which it would have been better to have quoted, if any note was to be given at all. The editors have aimed at brevity, but they would often have done better to have omitted rather than condensed. For there are many notes which are not imperative in an edition so 'monumental' as this. Is it necessary to say who Hoppner was, or to explain that Sir Thomas Lawrence was a 'portrait painter (1769-1830)'? The two notes on Sir Martin Shee in vol. ix. overlap, and do not tally in their details.

In the tracing of Hazlitt's multitudinous quotations the editors have been so successful that they may now be inclined to modify their early suggestion, that he sometimes used inverted commas to pass off a daring phrase of his own. It is truer that he did not acknowledge all that he might have done. When he said of Fawcett in the essay 'On Criticism' that 'he was not exceptionous,' he was probably recollecting a passage in the *Way of the World* (i. 2); and when he spoke of Lear's 'sublime identification' of his own age with that of the Heavens (v. 4) he used, as on many other occasions, the words of Charles Lamb. In the notes on the *Age of Elizabeth* we miss a reference to Johnson's Preface to Shakespeare, as well as to the 'ingenious and agreeable writer of the present day,' who held that good cheer and hospitable living were general in Elizabeth's time. There can be little doubt that Hazlitt refers here to Nathan Drake's *Shakespeare and his Times*. It does not appear to have been noted that the introductory lecture on the *Age of Elizabeth* owes something to the grandiose preface to C. W. Dilke's six-volume edition of *Old English Plays* published in 1814.

The editors are supplying at least fifty closely-printed pages of notes to each of the twelve volumes, and many of the most valuable of these take up only a single line. There is no mistaking the knowledge and labour that lie concealed under an unassuming reference. The editing of texts or the writing of notes is too commonly a thankless task, but Mr. Waller and Mr. Glover know that theirs is already the standard edition of Hazlitt, and they are apparently determined that it shall not have a rival.

D. NICHOL SMITH.

THE KEY TO THE FAMILY DEED CHEST: HOW TO DECIPHER AND STUDY OLD DOCUMENTS. By E. E. Thoyts (Mrs. John Hautenville Cope). Pp. xvi, 150. Post 8vo. Illustrated. Second Edition. London: Elliot Stock, 1903. 4s. 6d.

THIS little book first appeared ten years ago, as the Preface tells us. Its aim is indicated by its first title. On the 'Family Deed Chest' and its

The Key to the Family Deed Chest 333

probable contents, on parish registers and on parish officers' books (corresponding to our kirk-session registers), the information given is evidently based on the author's own experience, and is both practical and readable. The lady or gentleman blessed with leisure and the run of a few such repositories will find in this volume all that is needed to begin with; a Pocket Dictionary of Abbreviations can be added later; and the strenuous student, who demands more system and more precision, is told where to go. The neophyte is advised, quite rightly, to begin with what he can make out, and be content to acquire proficiency by practice. The stumbling-blocks are smoothed off or explained away—if the twelfth century contracted its words to save space, does not the twentieth do likewise to save time? If the student's Latin is weak, 'the correct conjugation of the verbs can be added afterwards by another person.' If a deed is in Norman-French, it 'can easily be understood,' or misunderstood, as the case may be, 'with the help of a slight knowledge of modern French.' To those tempted to use 'restoratives' for faded ink, the right advice, viz. don't! is tactfully reinforced by an allusion to the 'horrible smell' which awaits the wrongdoer. An interesting suggestion is made that shorthand should be studied 'as a means of training the eye and brain.' Would not art needlework do as well? The author evidently thinks not, and she is a lady. There is a chapter on 'Character by Handwriting,' which Mrs. Cope defends against objectors. If the neophyte should take her literally, and use her maxims as tests of genuineness, the results would be more curious than valuable. But a little 'graphology' may be usefully employed to enliven the perusal of a boxful of old letters.

Our author is opposed to the collection of parish registers in a central office; let every clergyman have 'a typed or printed copy' of his register, 'properly indexed' and 'at hand for reference,' and all will be well. The experience of Scotland shows, alas! that centralisation brings us no nearer to this millennial state.

The book is illustrated with photographs from old writs, which Mrs. Cope, true to her empirical principles, does not attempt to use for educational purposes. Indeed, many an expert would not care to tackle them without a magnifying-glass; but they are clear and good. The chapter on 'Legal Technicalities' is, of course, not adapted to northern latitudes. But Scotland is compensated by a photograph from a privately owned Chartulary of Reading Abbey, representing charters of David I. and Malcolm IV., some of which are not accessible elsewhere.

There is a short Introduction by Mr. C. T. Martin, of the Public Record Office, whose name carries weight in palaeographical matters. If he is a little in the 'nothing like leather' vein, we are glad to be reminded thereby that his science is in fashion at present; a historian who cannot read the records is not up to date. We wish the same could be said of the custodiers of local records and family papers.

J. MAITLAND THOMSON.

334 Life and Principate of Emperor Nero

THE LIFE AND PRINCIPATE OF THE EMPEROR NERO. By Bernard W. Henderson. Part xiv., 529. With 16 Illustrations and 3 Maps. 8vo. Methuen, 1903. 10s. 6d. net.

THIS is a book which ought to live, but which must expect in the course of its life, whether long or short, not to escape misunderstandings.

It is a careful, thorough, and scholarly treatise on the life of—may we not say—the most famous of Roman Emperors, and the results of the author's research are presented in a style so vivid and fresh that we cannot help reading his book. Yet I fear that it will be called an attempt to 'whitewash' the Emperor Nero and misjudged accordingly. But as the author says in his Preface :

'This history is an attempt not to "whitewash" Nero (though perhaps no man is ever altogether black), but to present a narrative of the events of that Emperor's life and of his Principate, with due if novel regard to the proportion of interest suggested by these events. Therefore some personal biographical details or court scandals receive but a scanty notice, or are omitted as too insignificant for even an Imperial biography. In their room I substitute topics of, in my judgment, a wider interest, the study of which may perhaps prove of greater service. Great events befell during the Principate of Nero. These, as well as the Emperor's character, may help, if it so chance, to justify this history.'

This then is the author's point of view. Nero was a thoroughly bad man, but by no means an altogether bad Emperor. This is not the first time that it has been pointed out that his unpopularity was Roman rather than Provincial. The Provinces were on the whole well governed during his reign, and, as the present author points out, some able and statesmanlike measures were planned, especially on the Armenian frontier of the Empire. One who like myself has seen the beginnings of Nero's canal across the Isthmus of Corinth, a work interrupted only by his death, but left unfinished till our own day, is very willing to admit that with all his private vices this man had some large and Imperial conceptions, and was not the mere 'Tigre devenu fou' the 'gamin couronné' whom many French and English authors have hitherto depicted him.

Let us not be misunderstood, and let us not misunderstand our author. Nero in his private family relations was a hopelessly bad man. The man, or say rather the lustful and arrogant boy, who slew his adopted brother, his wife, his mother, and his aged tutor, was undoubtedly a villain : only as 'nemo repente fuit turpissimus,' there were steps in his downward career, and as even Tacitus and Suetonius admitted, the beginning of his reign, the 'quinquennium Neronis' was a time of wise and merciful government, the credit for which must of course be largely given to his advisers, Burrus and Seneca. It is in the latter years of his reign, after his fears had been excited by the all but successful conspiracy of Piso, that he chiefly appears as the unredeemed tyrant, apparently thirsting for the blood of the noblest of his subjects. Lust and fear are both cruel passions, and by both was Nero possessed as by two devils. But these acts of tyranny and cruelty, which no trustworthy historian could dream of passing over in silence, were after all confined to Rome. Much was going on all the

Life and Principate of Emperor Nero 335

time in the Provinces, and here the Emperor's action seems to have been on the whole wise, and the results of it beneficial. It is to this part of the history of Nero's reign, hitherto somewhat neglected, that Mr. Henderson rightly invites the attention of his readers.

There are many interesting discussions in the book, on the character of Stoicism and the causes of its failure, on the spread of Christianity in Rome, on the pretext for the first persecution of Christians, on the date of the Apocalypse (assigned by our author to the last months of A.D. 68); but to these I can only make this brief allusion. Probably the part of the work which will be considered most valuable by historical experts, is that in which the author describes and discusses Corbulo's campaigns in Armenia from A.D. 55 to 63.

We hope that the success of this book may lead the author to continue his elucidation of the history of Imperial Rome. May we suggest for his next study the reign of that other Emperor,—no faultless private character though an immeasurably better man than Nero, as well as a far wiser ruler,—the insatiable traveller and ubiquitous builder, Hadrian?

THOS. HODGKIN.

IRELAND UNDER ELIZABETH: CHAPTERS TOWARDS A HISTORY OF IRELAND IN THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, BEING A PORTION OF THE HISTORY OF CATHOLIC IRELAND. By Don Philip O'Sullivan Bear. Translated from the original Latin by Matthew J. Byrne. Pp. xxvii, 212, with map. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers & Walker, 1903. 7s. 6d.

THE contents of this book are indicated with sufficient fulness on a lengthy title-page. Mr. Byrne, who has devoted the past eighteen years to the study of Irish history, has set himself the congenial task of translating some hysterical chapters written by a remarkable man on the doings of Queen Elizabeth and her army of heretics in the Emerald Isle. The reader will thank the translator for his preliminary warning in the preface, that he regards 'O'Sullivan's work more in the light of material for an Irish history of the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. than of itself supplying that want.' It is only just to compliment Mr. Byrne for the care he has taken to reproduce his author's sentiments and to avoid 'the danger of sacrificing accuracy to an attempt at elegance, and so substituting an English composition by himself for the history of O'Sullivan.' On the whole he has done his work very well, both as editor and translator.

In an appendix Mr. Byrne has collected some interesting notes on the weapons of war and modes of fighting in vogue with the Irish chieftains in their rebellions under Queen Elizabeth. The use of the military engine called 'the sow,' which seems to have been the most usual method of attacking fortified places, shows how antiquated were military tactics among the Irish at the close of the sixteenth century. In the Border wars of the early fourteenth century the Scots, under King Robert the Bruce, often employed this mischievous engine against the walls of Carlisle, *sed sus nec scalae eis valebant*, as the trustworthy chronicler of Lanercost testified.

Ample references to treatises on Irish weapons used at the time under review have been given.

The book is enriched with a good index and the reproduction of a quaint map of Ireland, drawn up by John Norden between 1609 and 1611, and still preserved in the Public Record Office in London. The map, though not new, is a useful addition, for it enables the reader to trace out the districts occupied by the Irish septs mentioned in O'Sullivan's narrative. It is to be hoped that Mr. Byrne will be encouraged to persevere with his intention of translating the works of Lombard, Rothe, and other contemporary historians of Irish events during the Elizabethan period.

JAMES WILSON.

LETTERS FROM DOROTHY OSBORNE TO SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE, 1652-54.

Edited by Edward Abbott Parry. Pp. vi., 350. Crown 8vo. With 3 Illustrations. Sherratt & Hughes: London and Manchester, 1903. 6s.

THIS new and authorised edition of the most charming of English letters written during the seventeenth century by an Englishwoman, who was no unworthy contemporary of Madame de Sévigné, is a welcome and timely reprint. Only five letters are added to those printed in 1888, but the new recension differs from its predecessor in the dating of them, which has necessitated a new arrangement, and in the insertion of more or less copious explanatory introductions to each letter. Mr. Parry confesses a 'holy horror of the footnote,' which has induced him to put all his explanatory information in the introductory form; but it is questionable whether the footnote would not have been a more convenient device, especially since the difference of type between the letters and their introductions is so slight as to make it difficult for those who are not connoisseurs in typography to distinguish them at a glance. None the less the introductions, minute and copious as they are in the illustration of every name and allusion, form a most helpful, and indeed indispensable part of the book. Another commendable addition is the three appendices, one of which, dealing with the life of Dorothy's father, Sir Peter Osborne, and especially with his defence of Guernsey for the Royalists in the Civil War, gives a pleasing glimpse of a minor but most romantic episode in that struggle. The tasteful equipment of the book in type, binding, and illustration deserves a word of praise.

ROBERT AITKEN.

CHAMBERS'S CYCLOPAEDIA OF ENGLISH LITERATURE. New Edition by David Patrick, LL.D., with numerous Portraits. Vol. I. pp. xv, 832; Vol. II. pp. xi, 832; Vol. III. pp. xvi, 858, royal 8vo. London and Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers, 1901-04. 10s. 6d. nett each.

THIS great work was founded sixty years ago by Scotsmen, and it has been maintained largely from the same source, but anything like a narrow patriotism is studiously avoided by the Editor. In his able but modest Preface he appeals to literary kinship and to the brotherhood of language, and he studiously, both in his selection of his coadjutors and in his choice

David Patrick : Chambers's Cyclopaedia 337

of authors, acts up to his principles. He writes 'To the youth of the English kin this book is once more and in a new shape offered as a help in seeking out and in laying to heart the wisdom and the wit of our famous men of old and the fathers that begat us, in the confidence that allegiance to the highest traditions of our literature will increasingly obliterate local and temporary jealousies.' From this it must not, however, be assumed that this great book of reference—one of the few really great works of its sort in our language—is particularly addressed to the young. It is adapted to the wants of all scholars, great and small, and it is at the same time a pleasant companion for the man of leisure, in so far as this can be true of any volumes which are too ponderous for the hand. By giving three volumes where there were two, the Editor is enabled to include many authors before ignored, to treat much more fully of almost all others, and to amplify the critical and biographical notices, bringing the work in all respects up to the requirements of the present time.

The general plan of the Cyclopaedia remains as in former editions, excepting only that now each author is presented once for all. That is to say, the arrangement is purely chronological, authors not being now discussed separately according to the class of their work—historic, dramatic, poetic and what not. This is a decided improvement. Each section of the work is prefaced by an historical survey—an entirely new feature. No one acquainted with the former editions should judge this one by them. The book is almost entirely rewritten, and great pains have been spent in verifying the biographical parts. As regards the extracts from the various authors' works, Dr. Patrick tells us that this is 'Not a collection of elegant extracts': but something there is 'to illustrate the author's average achievement, the standard by which he may be judged.' The book is an incitive to study rather than a study in itself. Still it is not a book which is no book. A cyclopaedia is not 'pure literature,' but a reader of ordinary intelligence can scarcely open the book at any page without finding absorbing matter of interest, and we should say that no better antidote to the bane of inferior fiction can be placed on our shelves than such a book as this.

In the very limited space at our command it is obviously impossible to consider in detail the quality of the work of the contributors. The list of leading contributors must suffice as warrant, and they seem to us to have worked with a view to sustaining their high reputation. In such variety there are necessarily degrees of merit. And if we are disposed to carp at the great space allotted to some authors, compared with the scant measure bestowed upon others, not to mention total exclusions, we bear in mind that in such matters the personal equation is necessarily prominent and the task of control very difficult. In short, the wheat so immeasurably exceeds the chaff that the latter becomes, to our mind, negligible.

The work is enriched by numerous portraits and facsimiles, the former mostly from the National Gallery. They are very good, considering the 'popular' price at which the work is brought out, and we only wish there were more of them. But of portraits alone there are some three hundred.

HAYWARD PORTER.

338 Charles Plummer: Alfred the Great

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ALFRED THE GREAT: being the Ford Lectures for 1901. With an Appendix and Map. By Charles Plummer, M.A. Pp. xii, 232, crown 8vo. Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1902. 5s. nett.

THE recent anniversary celebrations and the consequent vast amount of uncritical writing on the subject of Alfred's Life and Times make a volume by a scholar of Mr. Plummer's standing at once necessary and welcome, and the work before us, though handicapped as a literary production by the amount of matter relegated to foot-notes, amply fulfils our expectations.

Its aim is to set before us a picture of the real Alfred framed in the history of his times, and especially to estimate his ability as soldier, administrator, educationist, and man of letters. Main lines of enquiry are the genuineness of the direct evidence of Asser, and the indirect evidence of the proved works of Alfred himself, for both of these have been invested with great importance because of the meagreness of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the fewness of the charters and other documents relating to this reign.

The critical examination of Asser is the best and most convincing part of the book. Here Mr. Plummer's main conclusions are:

1. That the crude arrangement of the work, the excessive assertion of the author, the evident corruption of the text, the frequent inconsistencies, and the obvious interpolations, are arguments against its being accepted as genuine in its present shape.

2. That even in the undoubtedly 'genuine nucleus' we have to allow for frequent exaggeration and occasional 'rebellion against facts.'

He would, therefore, at once brush away such myths as the 'cakes,' the 'early tyranny' and the 'invention' of the shires. Then coming to points not so obvious he challenges Alfred's claim to be the absolute founder of the English navy, and holds that his power has been greatly exaggerated and that the elaborate tale of his finance is nothing more than an 'acute fit of imagination' on the part of Asser. Yet he confirms substantially the verdict of early history on the merit of Alfred's services in the liberation of the country from the Danes, attributing his greatness largely to his skill in co-ordinating the administration of the kingdom.

The other line of enquiry is not quite so convincingly handled, though we are glad to see that Mr. Plummer denies the identity of the *Encheiridion* with the *Soliloquies of Augustine*, claims the metrical translation of the *Metra* as Alfred's, and rejects the recent opinion of Professor Sweet that Alfred could not have translated the *Bede* because the work shows 'Mercian characteristics incompatible with a West Saxon origin.' In other words, he refuses to accept on alleged philological grounds, a mere statement contrary to established historical evidence and, even if correct, worthless as argument, since at least four of the helpers of Alfred were actually Mercians!

On the other hand we do not see on what grounds Mr. Plummer objects to Alfred as the reviser of the *Dialogues of Gregory*, nor in what respect the evidence for his translation of the *Psalter* is inconclusive. Nor does Mr.

Charles Plummer : Alfred the Great 339

Plummer make out the priority of the *Orosius* to the *Bede*. The literalness of the latter—which Mr. Plummer attributes to ‘reverence’—seems more like the natural unwillingness of a ‘young’ translator to tamper with his original, while the freedom of the former seems to afford *prima facie* evidence of experience in translation. No doubt much of this ‘freedom’ is, as Mr. Plummer says, blundering and mistranslation, but that is largely due to the greater difficulty of the Latinity and the un-English cast of thought. Still there are also many distinct additions, such as the description of Germany and the voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan, with many editorial explanations, such as those referring to Hannibal’s march and the defeat of Regulus, which are valuable as word-pictures of Alfred’s own experiences and undoubtedly reminiscent of the Danish troubles.

But points of commentary like these are of minor importance in a work of such merit. Despite the author’s modest disclaimer of anything new to offer, he does much to give us a clearer conception of Alfred, and sets before us an able, scholarly, and critical estimate of that age in which England was being consolidated and foundations of English literature were being laid, under kingly auspices.

J. CLARK.

LA RÉVOLUTION FRANÇAISE ET LES CONGRÉGATIONS: EXPOSÉ HISTORIQUE ET DOCUMENTS. Par A. Aulard. Paris: E. Cornély, 1903, 311 pp. Small 8vo. 3 fr. 50.

In the preface to his excellent monograph, M. Aulard tells us that recent debates in the Chamber of Deputies and recent discussions in the French press on the question of the religious orders, have revealed very inadequate knowledge of the facts relating to the suppression of these orders in France during the Revolution.

These facts M. Aulard now gives. In a short but masterly *résumé* he traces the history of the monastic orders from the expulsion of the Jesuits by Louis XV. in 1762, to the final suppression, by the Legislative Assembly, of the regular orders on August 4th, and of the secular orders on August 7th, 1792. No parallel is drawn between the history of over a hundred years ago, and that of to-day, but the writer is careful to point out that the suppression of the orders under the Revolution did not originate in anti-religious feeling.

The question was first raised in October, 1789, by an appeal to the National Assembly on the part of the nuns of the Immaculate-Conception at Paris, against the exercise of undue pressure on certain novices to take perpetual vows; and was argued in the Assembly on the ground that perpetual vows were inconsistent with the recent declaration of the Rights of Man. Perpetual vows were decreed to be no longer binding, and a spirit of justice and consideration animated the earlier decrees which made arrangements for those monks and nuns who chose to remain in their orders, as well as in the provision for those who left. Very soon, however, the necessity of acquiring property which could be sold to make good the State deficit led to the suppression of certain monasteries,

340 La Révolution et les Congrégations

and finally the hostile attitude, towards the Revolution, of those *religieux* who did not leave their orders, brought about the suppression of the whole.

The question of the religious orders was only a part of that of Church and State, and M. Aulard, strong Republican as he is, does not for a moment deny that the course pursued by the Revolution towards the Church was a grave political error.

M. Aulard follows his *résumé* by the official reports of the debates in the National Assembly, by the best contemporary journalistic accounts of these debates, and by the decrees relating to the question. Had he found room for a few of the petitions for and against the decrees cited, the reader would have had a still better idea of contemporary feeling. As it is, he has given us another example of the admirable manner in which the French school of history reproduces, edits and illumines the documents of the Revolutionary period.

SOPHIA H. MACLEHOSE.

THE SHRINES OF S. MARGARET AND S. KENTIGERN. By P. Macgregor Chalmers, I.A., F.S.A. (Scot.). Pp. 20, with 4 plates. Royal 8vo. Glasgow: Carter & Pratt, 1903.

In the early days of Christianity altars were built over the graves of martyrs. Later on it became common to translate the body of a martyr from the early grave in a cemetery and to bury it with honour under the altar of a new church. From this custom developed that of enclosing relics in newly built altars. In the middle ages there was a further development, and relics of saints were placed in small vessels of precious metal, which were set upon altars as a decoration for high days. A usage intermediate in character between the burial under an altar and the enclosing in a movable shrine took place when the body of a saint was translated from its earlier resting place and deposited in an elaborate fixed shrine, a structure of stone, wood, and metal, in close connection with an altar and usually behind it. In some churches, as at Glasgow, a chapel was formed in the crypt for this purpose, thus continuing the idea of burial with respect to the church above. In large churches, where the high altar stood at a distance from the east wall, a large shrine of this description was often placed immediately behind it, sometimes adjacent to it, but sometimes with a separate altar, and in an enclosed chapel behind the high altar and separated from it by a screen. The shrine of St. Edward the Confessor at Westminster is an example of the latter arrangement, and the altar now to be seen at the west end of the shrine itself is an excellent restoration of what must have been the old arrangement. That of St. Margaret at Dunfermline seems to have been a shrine of this kind.

In his interesting paper Mr. Macgregor Chalmers gives some account of these two large shrines which formerly existed in Scotland—the one of St. Margaret at Dunfermline Abbey, the other of St. Kentigern in the crypt of Glasgow Cathedral. Mr. Chalmers gives excellent repro-



I. CHAPTER SEAL OF DUNFERMLINE

II. CHAPTER SEAL OF GLASGOW

From plates lent by the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow

See page 340

Shrines of S. Margaret and S. Kentigern 341

ductions of chapter seals of Dunfermline and Glasgow, which he believes bear representations of these shrines. Unfortunately, we cannot follow him here, although his theory is very attractive. The buildings shown on the seals are only the conventional representations of churches so common in the art of the period. The usual medieval treatment is followed, by which the artist showed the outside and the inside of the church in one view. In the Dunfermline seal there is the sky above the church with sun and moon and two birds. The conventional foliage at the sides is probably intended to suggest trees. Within the church we see a queen—almost certainly intended for St. Margaret herself—and a monk, with a priest saying mass, with the help of a kneeling monk who is acting as his clerk. The whole forms a conventional representation of the church itself in St. Margaret's own day, and not a picture of her shrine. An examination of the Glasgow seal shows the same idea—not the shrine, but the church itself with a service going on within.

Mr. Chalmers says: 'It is probable that the shrine contained the following relics,' and he proceeds to enumerate many of those recorded in the well-known Glasgow Inventory of 1432, most of which had nothing to do with St. Kentigern. These relics were in separate movable reliquaries, and were unconnected with St. Kentigern's shrine, although perhaps they may occasionally have been used to adorn his altar on feasts. They must have been kept in the Cathedral treasury with the plate and other valuables, and they were brought out to deck altars with upon festivals, as is constantly done in Spain to-day, in the same way as the high altar at Westminster is still adorned with rich plate on Sundays and great days. The large fixed shrine of St. Kentigern in the crypt was a thing by itself. Readers interested in the subject of shrines and reliquaries would do well to consult the *Transactions of St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, vol. iv., pp. 121-125, and pp. 237 *et seq.*

F. C. EELES.

THE LANDS AND LAIRDS OF DUNIPACE. By John C. Gibson. Pp. 48, with two genealogical charts. Stirling: Cook & Wylie, 1903. 2s. 6d.

MR. GIBSON informs us that this is the first instalment of a work on estates and their owners in the parishes of Larbert and Dunipace. In this instance he has succeeded in giving us a very interesting account, which is a good deal more than a bare genealogy of the various owners of the lands. Several families notable in Scottish history have been connected with Dunipace. The Umfravilles are the earliest mentioned, and held the superiority until their forfeiture in the reign of Robert the Bruce. They and other possessors, on various occasions from 1190 onwards, gifted portions of the lands to the Abbey of Cambuskenneth, which eventually seems to have acquired the whole. In 1495 the Abbey sold the lands to the Livingstones, a younger branch of the Callendar family. The second laird of this family was an Extraordinary Lord of Session under the title of Lord Dunipace. His grandson, Sir John Livingstone, the fourth laird, was father of Jean Livingstone, Lady Warristoun, who was executed

342 The Lands and Lairs of Dunipace

in 1600 for the murder of her husband, John Kincaid of Warristoun. Sir John Livingstone, sixth of Dunipace, sold the lands in 1634 to Sir Robert Spottiswoode, second son of the Archbishop. He was an Extraordinary Lord of Session, first under the title of Lord New Abbey, but afterwards as Lord Dunipace. He sold Dunipace in 1643, two years before his execution after Philiphaugh. The lands then passed through various hands, and were eventually purchased in 1677 by Sir Archibald Primrose of Dalmeny, who settled the estate on the sons of his eldest daughter, the wife of Sir John Foulis of the *Account Book* (printed by the Scottish History Society, 1894), from which Mr. Gibson gives some interesting extracts. Sir Archibald Foulis Primrose of Dunipace, grandson of Sir John Foulis, was 'out in the '45,' and was executed in 1746. His estate was forfeited and was acquired in 1755 by James Spottiswood, ancestor of the present proprietor.

A. W. GRAY BUCHANAN.

IZAACK WALTON AND HIS FRIENDS. By Stapleton Martin, M.A. Pp. xii, 263, with 18 Illustrations. London: Chapman & Hall, 1903. 10s. 6d. net.

MR. STAPLETON MARTIN is obviously a thorough-going admirer of Walton, yet although he has evidently taken a great deal of pains, he does not seem to have added any new facts that have hitherto escaped notice. His aim, he says, has been 'to bring out the spiritual side of Walton's character.' But he does not seem to have reached any definite results. On page 18 he remarks that 'Walton, in my opinion, must be placed in Hooker's school,' while on page 21 he says that the reader 'will be forced to rank him (Walton) nearer to Laud's school than to Hooker's.' N. MACCOLL.

We gladly welcome the new edition of Messrs. A. & C. Black's indispensable *Who's Who*, and congratulate the editor upon the amount of information that he compresses into a short space. It is open to doubt as to whether there is much value in informing the world that Mrs. Crawford hardly ever knows what tedium is, or that she has found real life so interesting that novels and plays seem flat. Remarks of this kind might be severely sub-edited, and the deletion of a considerable quantity of unimportant information would increase the value of the book, but *Who's Who* is so useful and so accurate that blemishes of this sort can be pardoned.

The Tables which used to appear in the volume itself have now, from pressure of other matter, been issued as a separate shilling booklet, under the title of *Who's Who Year Book*.

The English Women's Year-Book and Directory, edited by Miss Emily Janes, contains much information on many points which are likely to be of interest to women.

The place of honour in the *American Historical Review* [Jan.] is becomingly accorded to Dr. Henry C. Lea for his presidential address to the American Historical Association on 'Ethical Values in History.' This venerable author, a profound scholar on historical ethics, discusses a dictum of

the late Lord Acton that in historical judgments we must apply the modern standard of rectitude. Dr. Lea—whether rightly interpreting Lord Acton's meaning or not may be open to argument—sets himself very successfully to show that the principle as he interprets it would often exclude excuses or justifications inherent in the state of contemporary opinion. Taking Philip II. of Spain as a type he illustrates in his career the anomalies that modern standards introduce, turning into a monster of cruelty one who long after his time was still regarded as the incarnate ideal of a Catholic prince.

The *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* (Jan.), containing 236 pp. of literary text and 116 of bibliographical supplement, is a weighty survey of history from the clerical standpoint, published quarterly under the authority of the Catholic University of Louvain. A chief article is concerned with the general instructions given to the nuncios of the Spanish Low Countries from 1596 until 1633. Among points of British interest is 'the unfortunate position of the faithful (Roman Catholics) in Ireland and Scotland, where King James I. thought to implant Anglicanism, without provision for adequate censorship of heretical books, in the front rank of which were the writings of Marc Antoine De Dominis.' Roman orthodoxy was stirred by the theological writings of King James himself, as well as by the treatise *De Republica Christiana* of De Dominis which was combated by Janson, a professor at Louvain.

In the *Revue des Etudes Historiques* (Jan., Feb.) M. Joseph Depoin essays an estimate of the Carolingian empire in the light of the recent important work of Prof. Kleinclausz upon the origin of the empire and its transformations. He thus challenges a verdict of one of our standard authorities: 'Nothing justifies the strange allegation of Bryce that Charlemagne would have been quite incapable of explaining his capacity as "Imperator Augustus."'

Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* is dissected with judicial skill in the *English Historical Review* (Jan.) by Prof. Firth, who shows with what industry and independence, yet with what bias, the monumental apology for Charles I. was composed. Mr. Haverfield pronounces a fine eulogium and critique combined on Mommsen—a memorial essay which rises to the height of its great occasion, enlisting the reader's admiration for its dignity of style as well as for its just appreciation of this first of the moderns among the masters of history. Mr. J. H. Round goes far on the way of proof that Edward the Confessor had, in regard to the names and offices of his court, adopted those of the Normans. Dr. James Gairdner contributes an abstract of Bishop Hopper's visitation of Gloucester in 1551; and Mr. Hamilton Wylie a dispensation of a son of King Henry IV. 'propter defectum natalium.' The appearance of the *Scottish Historical Review* is, in the *Reviews of Books*, pleasantly greeted as 'a friendly rival.'

The *Reliquary* (Jan.) presents a rich variety of illustrated matter—almanacs, pin-brooches, spoons, crosses, and carved bench-ends being the

leading picture-themes. Mr. Legge's notes on early almanacs are entertaining. Mr. E. Lovett is ingenious, but fails to convince, in an effort to prove the evolution of the pen-annular brooch from a traditional type of pin-ring brooch. Much spoon-lore is set forth in Mr. R. Quick's 'Chat about Spoons.' Several pre-Norman relics in Lonsdale are described and sketched by Mr. W. G. Collingwood; throughout them interlacing ornament is recurrent.

In the *Antiquary* (Jan.) Mr. R. C. Clephan has an illustrated description of two fifteenth-century suits of armour at Berne, with useful cross references to the suits made at the same time for British celebrities, including James IV. In the March number Mr. Vansittart discusses, with versions in various languages, the 'White Paternoster.'

Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset (Sept.-Dec., 1903) continues by quarterly instalments its steady supply of record, description, and various lore on these two shires. Heraldry and genealogy are in the ascendant with ecclesiastical and manorial remains. A full transcript is given of the inscription on Fielding's tombstone at Lisbon. One line is quotable in view of some opinions: 'Virtuti decorem vitio foeditatem asseruit suum cuique tribuens.'

Pen and Palette Club Papers, No. IV. (December, 1903). 'The Pen and Palette Club flourishes': so an editorial note informs, and so can, without danger, be inferred from this sturdy quarto. The Muses, as well as the Arts, still dwell by the banks of Tyne. Of the essays, that on Thomas Aird comes closest to a Scottish reader. From the pen of Mr. A. D. Murray (a friend of Aird, his successor in the editorship of the *Dumfries and Galloway Herald*, a brother of Dr. J. A. H. Murray, and now editor of the *Newcastle Journal*), it gives us a kindly and informing peep into the world of the poet of the 'Devil's Dream.' Among other clever things there is quoted a recent dictum of the *Dumfries Standard*—set down in humour, not in political malevolence—that Aird wrote far more kindly of the devil than he ever did of the Liberal party! Some Carlyle anecdotes appear also, with due modicum of salt in them. Not the least characteristic is that of the sage as theologian in conversation with Aird, his friend. Pointing to Troqueer Kirkyard, Carlyle said, 'Ay, there they lie in the hope of a blessed resurrection, but depend upon it, Aird, they have a long time to wait yet.'

Homage unstinted is due to Profs. Brandl and Morf's energetic and successful editorial work on the *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*. In the domain of literary history for the middle ages and the Renaissance the *Archiv* holds a powerful place, and the service it year by year renders to work of all kinds on old English can scarcely be set at too high a value. The December issue is unusually strong on this line. Dr. Liebermann edits three early Northumbrian documents, the first of which is Gospatric's letter. We notice that he reads Combres as a personal name, 'of Comber,' not

'Cumbrians,' as our correspondent Mr. Wilson prefers to understand it. 'Eadread's days' Liebermann notes as perhaps an allusion to Ealdred, Earl of Northumberland, father-in-law of Earl Siward. A facsimile of this remarkable document, and another of Bishop Ranulf's grant to his bishopric of Durham of the lands of Elredene and Haliwarestelle, near the Border in North Durham, are most useful accessories to the Liebermann exposition, which exemplifies all that great scholar's customary learning and minuteness of care. Rudolf Fischer gives the first instalment of an inedited Pepysian MS., *Vindicta Salvatoris*, an English poem of the thirteenth century, forming one of the comparatively little known cycle of Titus and Vespasian romances, tracing back to Josephus or Hegesippus. Segments of the legend occur in the Scottish Legends of the Saints, attributed to Barbour, as well as in the alliterative *Sege of Jerusalem*. Another romance chapter of equal interest is Dr. Leo Jordan's essay on some phases of the saga of Ogier the Dane in its old French sources.

Shakespeareana form the staple of the latest part of *Englische Studien*. H. Logeman's notes on the *Merchant of Venice* contain, amidst a good many that do not strike home—which is the usual fate of efforts at solving *cruces*—a residuum of effective comment on passages illuminated a little by contemporary utterances. Another side of study is seen in C. Winckler's discussion of John Marston's early work and his relation towards Shakespeare. Instances of verbal coincidence, such as to prove contact, are apparently non-existent, and other indications of relation are scant.

The Iowa Journal of History and Politics (Jan.), a quarterly publication of the State Historical Society of Iowa, is surprising in the scale it sets for purely State history. Certain periodicals have been sent us which are too far out of our orbit to admit of more than courteous acknowledgment. Amongst them are the *American Journal of Psychology* (London: Trubner & Co.), the *Anglo-Japanese Gazette* (Japan Press, London), the *Revue Critique d'Histoire et de Littérature* (Paris: Leroux).

The Teviotdale Regiment, a paper read to the Hawick Archæological Society by Mr. John W. Kennedy, describes General David Leslie's march to encounter Montrose, and the complete victory he gained over the latter at Philiphaugh on 13th Sept., 1645. Long quotations from a tale by James Hogg evince a doubtful standard of historical authority, although the narrative has local colour from the share of the Earl of Lothian's Teviotdale recruits in the culminating event. A useful appendix is a reprint of a rare contemporary pamphlet descriptive of Montrose's overthrow.

Reports and Transactions

*Glasgow
Archaeo-
logical
Society.* MR. GEORGE MACDONALD read a paper (Jan. 21) on the excavations recently carried out by Mr. Whitelaw of Gartshore at the Roman station on the line of the Vallum of Antonine at Bar Hill, near Croy. After indicating the obvious strategic importance of the position to troops holding the line of the Forth and Clyde isthmus, he referred briefly to the appearance presented by the fort when visited and described by Gordon nearly two centuries

ago. Gordon spoke of the vestiges of old buildings as being more conspicuous here than in any other Roman camp he had seen in Scotland. Before Roy's time these vestiges had largely disappeared, and for many years practically nothing at all was visible above the surface. Until Mr. Whitelaw took the matter in hand, our knowledge of the station was limited to the little that could be gleaned from Roy. Fourteen months ago digging operations were commenced, under the direction of Mr. Alexander Park, with Mr. J. M'Intosh as master of works. The explorers began by opening up the centre of the camp, and on the first day were rewarded by striking the well, of which the diameter at the mouth was four feet. But it proved to be 43 feet in depth, and was carefully built round from top to bottom with dressed stones. Its main interest lay in the fact that, possibly when the camp was abandoned, it had been made the receptacle for articles too substantial to be speedily destroyed, and too heavy to be easily carried off.

It thus yielded finds which would have sufficed to give the excavations a unique place among recorded explorations of Roman sites in Scotland. To clear it thoroughly was a work of difficulty, and thereafter the general plan of the station and its defences was laid bare. As a rule, the forts on this line abut directly on the Antonine Vallum, which serves as their northern rampart. The station on the Bar Hill is an exception. It lies some 30 or 40 yards to the south, while the Military Way runs in front of it. In shape it is almost a perfect square, the dimensions being 399 feet by 393 feet. It is defended by a single rampart, built of sods resting on a stone base, like the great vallum itself, and showing no traces of the massive masonry found at Castlecary. It has the normal four gates. Outside of the rampart is the usual line of ditches, double on every side save the north. The praetorium had been a substantial structure of stone, and among others whose remains were revealed were the latrines, which lay (as at Castlecary) close to the north rampart, and a group provided with a heating system, apparently baths. Rows of post-holes

probably indicated the soldiers' quarters, and a remarkable feature was that here, as at the gateways, the remains of the wooden posts were in many cases found *in situ*. Beneath and within the camp of Lollius Urbicus, which dates from the second century A.D., there has come to light the outline of an earlier camp, which measures 191 feet by 160 feet, and is thus considerably smaller than its successor. It is rectangular in shape, with a small annexe towards the west, and it appears to have had only a single gate, which opened towards the east. This discovery was due to the insight of Mr. Haverfield, who has throughout been in close touch with the excavators.

The obvious suggestion is that here we are face to face with the handiwork of Agricola, who, according to Tacitus, built a line of forts between the Forth and Clyde in 81 A.D. If this be so, it is a striking testimony to the sound military judgment of Roy, who drew from the detached position of the Bar Hill fort the inference that it was probably one of those previously erected by Agricola. The collection of objects recovered is remarkable. There are many iron implements, masons' chisels, and the like, including a complete bag of workmen's tools, held together in its original shape by corrosion. Two inscribed stones tell that at one time the fort was garrisoned by the First Cohort of the Baetasii, auxiliaries from Lower Germany, who must have been moved up from Maryport, in Cumberland, where we know from lapidary evidence that they were stationed. Hitherto the only regiment associated with Bar Hill was the First Cohort of the Hamii, Syrian bowmen, mentioned on the altar found in 1895. The usual debris of a Roman camp, from ballista balls to children's playthings, is present in abundance. Pottery and leather shoes are specially plentiful. The bones have been examined by Dr. T. H. Bryce, who identified many relics of the shorthorned Celtic ox (*bos longifrons*). Miscellaneous articles include a copper pot, a bell, the leg of a compass, oyster shells, walnuts and hazel-nuts, and four stone busts of singularly rude workmanship. Coins are not numerous, and in date entirely bear out the view that the vallum was abandoned in the reign of Commodus. They present one very curious feature. When the sludge at the bottom of the well was riddled it was found to contain 13 denarii. At first sight these resembled genuine pieces, but proved to be all of pure tin but one. Probably they were shams expressly manufactured for devotional purposes, the custom of throwing money into wells from superstitious motives being in ancient times a very ordinary practice. In conclusion, Mr. Macdonald emphasised the importance of the service Mr. Whitelaw has rendered to early history by these fruitful excavations.

The Historical and Philological Section of the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow shews its vitality by its contributions to the *Proceedings*, vol. xxxiv. for 1902-03. Mr. Richard Brown *Philosophical Society of Glasgow* has made a useful study of the early Scottish joint-stock companies, beginning with the incorporation authorised in 1579 of Scotsmen trading in the Low Countries, and particularising the many companies formed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

for the promotion of fisheries, mainly of herring. Mr. John Edwards pleasantly describes, with piquant quotations, the *Chronicle of the Brut*, and reproduces in facsimile a page from the excellent fifteenth century manuscript which he possesses. Mr. George Macdonald writes with much learning on Coin Finds and how to interpret them, his leading object being to ascertain the main reason for hoards. The Roman Digest (41.1.31.1.) assigns three principal causes, viz., gain, fear, and safe keeping—*vel lucri causa vel metus vel custodiae*. By various evidences constituting a capital commentary on this text, Mr. Macdonald proves that historically the second of these causes stands easily first. Mr. Macgregor Chalmers finds in the shrines of St. Margaret at Dunfermline, and St. Kentigern at Glasgow, the material for the striking archaeological proposition that the church-like structures illustrated on the chapter seals of Dunfermline and Glasgow are renderings of the respective shrines of these churches. His point gains graphic force in a separate revised reprint (*The Shrines of St. Margaret and St. Kentigern*, Carter & Pratt, Glasgow, 1903), having photographs of the English shrines of St. Alban and St. Edward the Confessor, to the type of which the two Scottish chapter-seal structures are analogous. The Philosophical Society celebrated its centenary in 1902, and the opening address of Professor Archibald Barr, the President, on some points in the Early History of the Society, is a valuable and suggestive review of its origin and achievement, especially in relation to mechanical philosophy, including the many contributions of the illustrious *doyen* of the Society, Lord Kelvin.

THE Transactions of the Yorkshire Dialect Society, part v., contain notably Mr. R. O. Heslop's 'Dialect Notes from northernmost England,' with a map showing the limits of the Northumbrian burr, and another to locate the Viking settlements. Some breath of the North Sea hangs about Mr. Heslop's utterances. He thinks in breezy anecdote.

Archaeologia Aeliana, the transactions of the Newcastle antiquaries, seldom fails to perpetuate the force of the Roman impression on north England, for the proportion of matter relative to the Roman occupancy is always highly significant both of its actual bulk as well as of its relative importance. The last issue, out of a total of 192 pages, devotes more than half to Roman subjects—epigraphy, excavations, and history. Medieval themes include an illustrated enumeration by Mr. S. S. Carr of early monumental remains of the Benedictine monastery of Tynemouth, consisting of fragments of early crosses with interlacing ornament of pre-Conquest type, and grave covers assigned to a somewhat later period. Mr. J. C. Hodgson usefully transcribes for Northumberland the original returns which were the basis of the *Testa de Nevill*. Some entries about Bamborough revive its place not only as a fortress but as once the Northumbrian capital and a great feudal centre. In an essay on Coupland Castle, about nine miles south of Coldstream, the Rev. M. Culley of Coupland incidentally discusses the border fortifications, mentioning that

not until after the middle of the fourteenth century did the building of border towers become popular. Coupland is a late example, not earlier than 1584. Mr. Culley, we observe, recants his former opinion that an inscribed date, 1619, fixes the period of erection. His general reasons for recantation seem scarcely so constraining as the specific epigraph of 1619 on the stone chimney-piece of the great chamber of the tower. The principal contribution of this part is of absorbing interest to all students of the Roman period in Britain. It contains the report on the excavations of 1898-99 at Housesteads (*Borcovicus*), a document on which the Newcastle Society and everyone concerned are to be most warmly congratulated. Mr. Haverfield deals with the inscribed stones, and Mr. A. B. Dickie with certain special architectural points. Each of these is excellent in his own province. But the main feature of the report is Mr. R. C. Bosanquet's masterly account of the digging and its results. We wish all such reporters would set forth their facts in as luminous and instructive a fashion. While the details are recorded faithfully and with the necessary minuteness of accuracy, they are properly co-ordinated and are interpreted by abundant illustrations from other sites at home and abroad. As a consequence, we get—almost for the first time—a clear and coherent description of the structure and purpose of the building found in all Roman stations, and generally known (on quite insufficient grounds) as the *praetorium*. A good deal of light is thrown on other obscure matters—the arrangements of the soldiers' barracks, for example. But the elucidation of the '*praetorium*' is the outstanding achievement. Mr. Bosanquet hints that the successful excavation of Birrens helped to stimulate the activity that has borne such excellent fruit. May we hope for an appropriate reply from this side of the Border? With Barr Hill and Rough Castle Scotland may claim to hold her own. But it is now her turn to 'go better.' What about Westerwood?

Queries

CLOBEST. In a final concord of 40 Hen. iii. (Cumberland, *Pedes Finium*, Case 35, File 2, No. 68) between Thomas de Multon and the Prior of Lanercost about hunting rights in the barony of Gillesland, a sporting word, unique within my experience, is used upon which I should like to have the judgment of your readers. Shortly the provisions of the agreement are these: the Prior shall have two foresters (*wodewardos*) in his demesne: shall be at liberty to inclose his park and make a deer-leap (*salitorium*) therein: shall have 'quatuor leporarios et quatuor brachettos currentes cum voluerint ad capiendum in dominicis terris et boscis suis vulpes et lepores et omnia alia animalia que vocantur clobest': liberty for his men to carry bows and arrows through the whole barony of Gillesland, 'sine dampno faciendo feris in eadem foresta de Gillesland.' It is evident that a distinction is drawn between two classes of game, deer and 'clobest,' the latter or inferior class including foxes, hares, and other animals, like the cat or mart, which was reckoned a beast of the chase in Cumberland from an early period. Has this word been found elsewhere? There is no doubt about the true reading, for the record of the Fine in the Cartulary of Lanercost (MS. ix. 4) is the same. What is its meaning? To my untutored mind (I make no claim to be a philologist) 'clobest' appears to be the vernacular pronunciation of 'claw-beast,' a beast with claws (see Skeat *s.v.* claw), a class of game inferior to deer or 'hoof-beast.' I do not find reference to the word in Mr. Turner's *Select Pleas of the Forest*, Selden Society, vol. xiii.

JAMES WILSON.

SOLOMON'S EVEN. Writing in 1874 regarding Shetland, Mr. Arthur Laurenson observes:—'It is a curious fact that almost the only trace left in the language of the people, of the long supremacy in the islands of the Catholic Church, is the remembrance of certain holidays and saints' days, now of course no longer celebrated, although not forgotten. Besides the well-known festivals still recognised, and the legal term days of Christmas, Candlemas, Lammas, Whitsunday, Martinmas, Pasch-Sunday, and St. John's Day (December 27), there are still dated Laurence Mass (August 23), Korsmas (3rd May and 14th September), Fastern Eve (before Lent), Catherinemass (22nd December), Boo Helly (fifth day before Christmas), Bainer Sunday (first before Christmas), Antinmas (twenty-fourth day after Christmas) or Uphellia Day, Solomon's Even (3rd November), Sowday (17th December), Martinbullimas (St.

Swithin's Day), Johnsmass (24th June).—(*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. x., p. 716). In Mr. T. Edmonston's *Etymological Glossary of the Shetland and Orkney Dialect*, p. 113, we find this entry:—'Solomon's Avon (Even), November 3rd, a superstition of ill-omen connected with this day. Shetland.' From whom did this festival receive its name?

J. MURRAY MACKINLAY.

ROBERTSON. Can you tell the parentage of, or particulars about George Robertson, a Writer in Edinburgh, married (second wife) Elizabeth Ogilvie, and died 1737: his son, Alexander, a Clerk of Session, owner of Parsonsgreen, matriculated in 1778 as a Cadet of the Strowan family?

W. H. R.

THE BROOCH OF LORNE. Can you give a list of the most ancient references or any particulars concerning the celebrated Brooch of Lorne, which was taken from Robert Bruce by the MacDougalls, and is still in the possession of their chieftain, Captain MacDougall, of MacDougall, Dunollie Castle, Argyleshire?

M.

[Some account of the Brooch is given in *Scottish National Memorials* (MacLehose, 1890), pp. 34, 35, with an illustration and references, particularly to *Archaeologia Scotica*, vol. iv., p. 419, plate xxx., and Sir Daniel Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*.]

SIR JAMES DENHOLME OF CRAUSHAWS. In the Edinburgh Register of Marriages under date 5th August, 1753, Sir James Denholme of Craushaws was married to 'Sophia Cockburn relict of Arch^d. Allan merchant in Annan.' As Sophia Cockburn was born in March, 1697, it is improbable that there were any children. Who was Sir James Denholme? I can see no mention of him in Douglas' Baronage nor in Playfair.

H. A. C.

ST. BEYA'S DEDICATIONS. This Saint is commemorated at Dunbar, at Banff, and on the island of Little Cumbrae. Kilbag Head, in Lewis, is thought by Bishop Forbes (*Kalendar of Scottish Saints*, s.v. *Baya*) to recall either St. Beya, or St. Bega, who gave name to Kilbucho in Peeblesshire. Are there any other Scottish dedications to St. Beya?

J. MURRAY MACKINLAY.

ACONEUZ. In the twelfth century Guthred, king of the Isles, gave to the priory of St. Bees in Cumberland the land of Eschedale in the Isle of Man, free and quit 'ab omni terreno servicio tam de pecunia quam et acuez et ab omni gravamine tam a me quam ab omnibus meis cum eisdem legibus et libertatibus quas habent super terram et homines suos circa ecclesiam sancte Bege in Coupalandia.' We have the same phrase-

ology again in a charter of King Reinald, except that the puzzling word is written 'aconeuz.' At subsequent dates when these charters were inspected and confirmed by Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray, and Antony, bishop of Durham, lords of Man, the word was reproduced in such forms as 'aconuweys' or 'aconeuez.' I have not met this word in any other connection, and I am anxious to know its correct form and etymology, as well as the precise nature of the territorial burden it represented. Was it a Scottish as well as a Manx service? It was certainly not Cumbrian.

JAMES WILSON.

Replies

WRAWES (i. 101, 235.) The word 'rice'—I do not know the spelling—is used in parts of Midlothian, Peeblesshire, and the Upper Ward of Lanarkshire for the small branches placed below stacks when they are built on the ground, or used for filling up ruts in a cart track over soft ground. These branches are now for the most part of spruce fir, but in many places are still of birch. No doubt in former times birch would be the material generally used for such a purpose. But surely this word is the same as the German 'reis' and so may have no connection with 'wrawes.'

T. D. GIBSON CARMICHAEL.

LEGEND FROM TIREE (i. 113.) It is perhaps worth while pointing out that Mr. R. C. Graham's interesting legend from the island of Tiree would appear to be a picturesquely embroidered variant of a common 'folk-tale.' Parallels could probably be produced from various countries. But the story is found in a simple form in the *Märchen* of the Brothers Grimm. English versions of *Grimm's Fairy Tales* are usually produced for the delectation of children, and in most of them the tale of 'The Old Man who was made Young' is omitted as verging on the profane. It will, however, be found on p. 499 of Ward, Lock & Co.'s 'complete edition.' The miracle-worker is Our Lord, but the bellows are blown by St. Peter, who was also present. The old man who was made young was an aged beggar who had asked alms from the blacksmith. After passing through the furnace he was cooled in the water-butt. The next morning the blacksmith attempted to work a similar change on his decrepit sister-in-law. The experiment was a ludicrous failure. The harder the blacksmith blew the bellows the louder did the old woman scream 'Murder,' 'until the man began to doubt whether things were going on right, and he took her out

and threw her into the water-butt. There she screamed so loud that the blacksmith's wife and her daughter-in-law, who were upstairs, heard it; they ran down and found the old woman howling and groaning in the water-butt.'

M.

LENYS OF THAT ILK (i. 101.) 'Reidhar' in modern Gaelic is 'ridir', knight; 'ouir' is 'odhar', grey or dun; and 'vray' is 'breac', freckled; 'tork' is probably 'torc', boar.

I have to correct an error in the query. The John de Leny, who had a charter of the lands of Drumchastell, can scarcely be identical with John de Lena, mentioned as a witness in 1267, as the latter is designated 'magister,' and must have been a churchman.

A. W. G. B.

GOSPATRIC'S LETTER (i. 62.) The Gospatric letter, which formed the subject of an article in this Review in October, 1903, has attracted the attention of Professor Liebermann, who has printed it in facsimile with a translation and notes in the last issue of the *Archiv* (vol. cxi. pt. 3/4). After passing well-deserved compliments to Canon Greenwell and Mr. W. H. Stevenson for the part they had taken in the interpretation of the writing, Dr. Liebermann has followed your example by placing the English text side by side with his translation, and adding ample notes, philological and explanatory. As my interest in the document is purely historical, I may leave the discussion of the language to the experts. Nothing, however, that has been said by Dr. Liebermann, has materially altered any of the conclusions that I had ventured to advance in my notice of the writ. On the interpretation of the disputed phrase in Gospatric's mode of address to all his dependants, 'theo woonnan on eallun tham landann theo weoron Combres,' the Professor has taken the same view as Canon Greenwell, Mr. Stevenson, and Prof. Skeat, and rendered the passage as 'die wohnen in allen den Landen welche Comber gehorten.' Nobody will dispute the grammatical accuracy of the translation as the text stands, but if I am to understand by that phrase that Comber was a local personage, like Cumbra or Cumbranus, the south-country magnate slain by Sigebert in 775, I cannot accept it. I believe that the key of the difficulty will be found in the rise of geographical terms which in Gospatric's time were in process of formation. Gospatric's province had not yet won for itself a territorial name. States were called after their inhabitants. Cumberland derived its name from the land of the Cumber or Cymric race. It was the 'terra Cumborum' as England was the 'terra Anglorum.' The geographical description in both cases crept gradually into use. After a prevailing fashion, familiar to the student of English and Latin forms, the draughtsman of the writ reduced the territorial designation, which had not been at that time fully established in general usage, to its original conditions 'of all those lands that belonged to the Cumbrian' or Welshman.

To the list of Cumbrian magnates, 'Walltheof and Wygande and Wyberth and Gamell and Kunyth,' Dr. Liebermann has prefixed

'Wilhelm,' but in my opinion on insufficient grounds. The word in the script is clearly 'Willann,' and not 'Willelmi' or 'Willelm.' Though the letter 'a' in this word, as seen in the facsimile, if taken independently of the scribe's caligraphy throughout the document, may be read as 'el,' few who have carefully examined the original skin will accept the suggested reading. Moreover, Dr. Liebermann's version necessitates the interpolation of the symbol for 'and,' which is fatal to his contention.

I looked with some curiosity for the rendering of the most important passage in the writ, that in which the jurisdiction of Earl Syward over the Cumbrians is spoken of, but it seems to have presented no difficulties to the translator. The obscure passage in question—'And ne beo neann mann swa deorif thehat mid that ic heobbe gegyfen to hem neghar brech seo gyrth dylc Eorl Syward and ic hebbe getydet hem cefrelycc'—has been translated by Dr. Liebermann thus: 'Und es sei niemand so kuhn, dafs er bezuglich dessen was ich jenem gegeben habe irgendwo den Frieden breche, solchen wie Graf Siward und ich jenem ewiglich verlichen habe.'

It would be very interesting if the identification of Eadread—'on Eadread dagan'—with Ealdred, earl of Northumberland, could be proved; but the general tenor of the writing seems to be against it. As Earl Syward is properly designated, why should Eadread have been mentioned without his title? Last year I went over the list of Northumbrian rulers, kings and earls, with Canon Greenwell, in the hope of finding some counterpart of this personage among them, but every attempt at identification seemed to us open to some grave objection. Eadread appears to me to have been a local potentate like Moryn—'on Moryn dagan'—who had hitherto escaped notice as a great landowner in the days immediately before Gospatric's writ was issued.

JAMES WILSON.

Dalston Vicarage.

Notes and Comments

MR. THOMAS GRAVES LAW, LL.D., keeper of the Signet Library, born on 4th Dec., 1836, died on 12th March last. When a personality so many-sided is removed from the historical circle, the sense of loss, though general, strikes different minds at different angles. Some of us knew Mr. Law best as the author of calendars of martyrdom and dissertations on catechisms, and Jesuit or Catholic controversies in the war of creeds. Others thought of him as a skilful bibliographer, and the most obliging of librarians. Others again classed him as a high authority on the text of the Vulgate as well as on early English translations of the Scriptures, especially the Scottish version of the New Testament, which he was still engaged in editing at the time of his death. Possibly more than in any of these capacities he was seen as the unwearying organiser and secretary of the Scottish History Society, scarcely less eager in historical pursuits of his own than in the search for contributions of value, and the sympathetic co-worker in all editorial tasks. An Englishman who had been twenty years a priest when he left the church of Rome in 1878 and settled in the capital of protestant Scotland, he so naturalised himself that we not only forgot he was an importation, but almost persuaded ourselves he was a Scot.

At once ardent and exact, a keen controversialist, but devoid of bitterness, he combined minute detail with comprehensive views. His cordiality and solicitous friendliness of counsel in the enterprise of this magazine, and his zeal in its promotion, may not pass without a most grateful word of record, the more so as this kindliness of interest was evinced in defiance of pain and weakness.

One who knew him well and whose words are always worth remembrance has written that 'in the memory of those who counted themselves among his friends, he will always abide as one of the most loveable of men, an exemplar of tactful courtesy, and the type of a broad and genial humanity.' Scotland loses in him a deep scholar, in a field almost all his own. But he will be missed most of all as an accomplished organiser of studies, and as one who never neglected in the midst of his own researches a chance of assisting or encouraging a fellow-worker. Much of his learning therefore has gone to the making of the books of other men.

As the sea was threatening to undermine St. Andrews Castle on the northern side, the Crown, last autumn, constructed a massive concrete wall which ought to protect it for many centuries to come. Much of the sand and gravel required for this work was obtained on the beach opposite the eastern side of the Castle,

and the lowering of the beach has revealed ledges of rock hitherto covered. In one of the ledges there is a distinct cutting, and in the cutting there is still part of the lower course of the old eastern wall, which is ten or twelve yards further east than the wall built by the Crown in 1884 and 1886. The Castle well has also been cleaned out, and in the bottom of it two gargoyles were found. Each terminated in a goat's head, through the open mouth of which the water had poured.

A CURIOUS and out of the way theme, the anatomical vivisection of criminals among the ancients, was lately handled by the Rev. *Vivisection of Criminals.* Dr. Robertson of St. Ninians in a paper read before the archaeologists of Stirlingshire. Celsus in his *De Medicina* approves of the action of certain doctors who dissected live criminals taken from prison (nocentes homines ex carcere acceptos vivos) and he repels the charge of cruelty offered by some against this sacrifice of sinners for the good of the just. Tertullian mentions the practice. Galen advised the dissection of monkeys as preparatory to like treatment of man. The vivisection of criminals was again reverted to after a long interval by the Renaissance surgeons. A queer Scottish reminiscence is quoted by the learned minister of St. Ninians. 'I am indebted for my knowledge of the following incident to the President of the Archæological Society of Glasgow. About eighty years ago a criminal named Matthew Clydesdale having been hanged in Glasgow and given over to Dr. Jeffrey for dissection, the students were testing the muscular movements of the body under a galvanic current when signs of animation were observed. Dr. Jeffrey immediately plunged his lancet into the carotid artery that no vivisection might take place.' The euphemism of the last sentence is truly naive. Mommsen does not include the delivery of a criminal to vivisection in his enumeration of the penalties in the criminal law of Rome.

Some Notices of Old Glasgow, a reprint of the Presidential Address to the Glasgow Archæological Society (19th Nov., 1903), by *The late John Oswald Mitchell, LL.D.*, cannot be looked at without a sharp consciousness of the loss to Glasgow antiquarian studies occasioned by the author's death. He, like his friend Colin Dunlop Donald, zealously cultivated the Ana of 17th-19th century Glasgow, its merchants and its buildings, and the pictorial aspects of its life. Gifted with a style which, expended on broader themes, might have made him another John Brown, Dr. Mitchell's numerous papers are invariably marked by a descriptive touch, a pawky air, and a breezy vivacity of narrative, all the more welcome because so very unusual in work so exact. His last paper shows the veteran antiquary's eye for pictorial characterisation quite undimmed. It is a discursive topographical survey of Glasgow as it might have looked to a stranger in 1707, and will be read with double sympathy, not only for its own charms and fidelity, but as the last tribute to the city he loved, from one who was held in equal regard as citizen and author.